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Daily Report

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Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-92-188

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Angola

The armies of the Angolan Government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola were dissolved effective 27 September, according to a statement read on Luanda Radio on 28 September.

Republic of South Africa

On 26 September, State President F.W. de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela met in Johannesburg and reached agreement on the release of political prisoners, the carrying of lethal weapons and the policing of transient workers' hostels, THE SUNDAY TIMES reported on 27 September.

In reaction to the De Klerk-Mandela agreements on cultural weapons and security at the hostels, Inkatha Freedom Party leader and chief minister of the kwaZulu government, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, announced the withdrawal of the kwaZulu government and the IFP from peace negotiations at the Shaka Day celebrations on 27 September. Interviewed later in the day, Chief Buthelezi said he "will never accept that anybody will tell him not to carry a cultural weapon," and "hostel dwellers will rip down any fences put around the hostels with their bare hands," Umtata Radio reported on 27 September.

Djibouti

Rebel Leader Says Eritreans Aiding Government

AB2509090092 Paris AFP in English 1644 GMT
24 Sep 92

[Text] Paris, Sept 24 (AFP)—The leader of Djibouti's Afar rebel front Thursday [24 September] accused members of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) of fighting alongside Djibouti government troops.

"Fighting is continuing and the government troops are preparing to launch new operations with the aid of Eritreans," Ahmed Dini, head of the Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy (FRUD), told AFP.

The FRUD is fighting for a greater share of power with the Issa-dominated regime of President Hassan Gouled Aptidon, which Dini dismissed as a "family power."

Dini said the Eritrean forces, from the Aseb port region on the Red Sea, were "concentrated on the Djibouti islands of Moucha and Mascali between (the capital) Djibouti and Obock," to the north.

"People who have fought on the ground say they have recognised Eritreans, particularly in the battles at Obock," Dini said.

"We can't ignore this, knowing the position of the Eritrean provisional government, which has provided arms to the Djibouti government," he added. "When you provide arms, you send advisors, and from advisors you get combatants."

Dini, who had just arrived in France where he has asked to meet government officials, also accused "certain Eritrean factions" of repressing the civilian Afar people of Eritrea and seizing their fishing boats.

The Afars live on both sides of the border. EPLF-led Eritrea is due to hold an internationally monitored referendum on its independence from the rest of Ethiopia next April.

Dini said he was in France, which has an important naval base in Djibouti, to ask the government "not to tribalise cooperation" with the Horn of Africa nation, "excluding ... a large part of the population."

The FRUD boycotted a September 4 referendum on a multi-party constitution, which officials said was approved by a large majority.

Somalia

Prime Minister Urges More Aid, UN Troops

NC2809091892 Cairo Voice of the Arabs in Arabic
0510 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Telephone interview with Somali Prime Minister Omar Arteh Ghalib, in Riyadh, by Fawzi al-Jundi, in Cairo, carried within the "Dialogue From Afar" program; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Al-Jundi] The Somali question is imposing itself on the world. What do the Somali people need from the international community?

[Ghalib] The world is called upon to understand the problem [word indistinct]. That is the most important thing. Second, the world should send urgent relief food and medicine to every part of Somalia. The UN's dividing Somalia into four administrative regions to organize relief supplies is reasonable. There is the southern region, including Mogadishu, the northern region, including Hargeisa, western, and eastern. This is our top priority. Then, UN troops should be sent to Somalia. They may be from Egypt or other Arab and [word indistinct] Islamic countries.

[Al-Jundi] Is the number of UN troops in Somalia not enough?

[Ghalib] It is not enough.

[Al-Jundi] You are asking for more troops?

[Ghalib] Yes.

[Al-Jundi] What is the required size of the UN force?

[Ghalib] Some 10,000 soldiers for now.

[Al-Jundi] Mr. Omar Arteh Ghalib, a national reconciliation conference attended by the rival parties in Somalia is as important and vital as the need for food relief to the Somali people. What are you doing to achieve national reconciliation in the country?

[Ghalib] When I said we wanted the world first to understand our problem, I meant we arranged a reconciliation conference in Djibouti last year. Every rival group—six of the seven fronts that participated in overthrowing Siad Barre's government—signed an agreement, the points of which were clear: A temporary president would be elected, who would appoint a prime minister for two years. The prime minister must be from the north to please the northerners, who declared secession. The prime minister would appoint a government grouping all Somali tribal and political groups. The constitution that was obstructed by the 1969 military coup would be adopted as a temporary constitution. A cease-fire would be implemented and Mohamed Siad Barre would depart the country. This was the agreement.

[Al-Jundi] But how are the circumstances for a new reconciliation conference?

[Ghalib] We must hold a meeting to review this agreement and see what we have implemented and what remains to be implemented. As a provisional government, we have called on all six groups that participated in the Djibouti conference to meet again. We are also calling on any new front to join such a meeting.

[Al-Jundi] Do you have any specific conditions for such a national reconciliation?

[Ghalib?] Yes. The only condition is that each group must end its internal disputes before attending this conference. This is the only condition.

[Al-Jundi] Somali President Omar Arteh Ghalib, there are reports that the current government in Somalia under President Ali Mahdi Mohamed is controlling only a limited area in the capital Mogadishu. Can we say that the weight of each group in the country is measured by the size of the region it controls?

[Ghalib] The northern region, which has (?called) itself Somaliland, has announced secession. I am proud that I belong to this region. I announced, God willing, that I will return there soon to discuss with the people the best ways to achieve their political ambitions and noble objectives.

[Al-Jundi] Will you make any new proposals during the dialogue with Somaliland or northern Somalia?

[Ghalib] Yes. I have offered them a kind of federal government. We may benefit from the federal constitutions of some countries, such as the United States, the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom, and Nigeria, but I would like to meet with the people there and hold a peaceful dialogue with them to see what they want.

[Al-Jundi] Are these personal moves or do they reflect the position of the current interim government in Somalia?

[Ghalib] This is the position of the interim government and the president. It is also my own position. It is the legitimate one.

[Al-Jundi] Do you expect the Arab League to play a particular role in arranging such a national reconciliation conference?

[Ghalib] The Arab League was committed to last year's agreement. It played a prominent role in the conference. Certain Arab countries have played a role [words indistinct] Egypt, Yemen, (Oman), Sudan, and Libya. These countries wanted us to reach a satisfactory solution. We now welcome the participation of our brothers in this conference.

[Al-Jundi] Somali Prime Minister Omar Arteh Ghalib, at the end of this telephone contact between Cairo and your place of residence in the Saudi capital, Riyadh, we thank you very much and welcome you to the Voice of the Arabs.

[Ghalib] I thank you very much for [words indistinct]. I tell you very frankly and earnestly that we take pride in the Voice of the Arabs. I remember when I was young [words indistinct] that the Voice of the Arabs played a direct role in spreading Arab cultural and political awareness in the Arab homeland and throughout the world.

Rebel Leader Rejects Talks With Ali Mahdi

PM2509123192 London SAWT AL-KUWAYT
AL-DUWALI in Arabic 21 Sep 92 p 14

[Interview with General Mohamed Farah Aydid, "leader of the United Somali Congress and the Somali National Alliance," by 'Uthman Ahmad Nur in Bardera, southern Somalia; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Nur] You claim that to control 11 of Somalia's 18 provinces. And last month there was an attack on UN elements in which two officers in the southern part, which is under your control, were wounded—which proves that you are not in full control of the situation there!

[Aydid] The attack incident against UN elements is now known to everyone here. The attack was carried out by armed groups belonging to Ali Mahdi to make UN officials feel that the country needs many troops and that international guards and observers cannot provide security in Mogadishu. It is one of Ali Mahdi's numerous operations within the same framework. They include numerous looting operations carried out by his forces against relief convoys.

[Nur] You left Mogadishu and moved to the south of the country over four months ago. What do you do in the south, and why do you not return to Mogadishu?

[Aydid] Several reasons prompt me to stay in the southern areas at the present stage. We I have achieved most of the things for which I came here, most notably the establishment of the "Somali National Alliance" and the announcement of self-rule in the provinces under our control. I do not stay in one place. I will be leaving for another area to talk to the people, because people in the south are dying of starvation and it is very important to be in touch with them.

Besides, some of (former President) Mohamed Siad Barre's forces are trying to regroup to launch military attacks against us from Kenyan territory. The Kenyan authorities let them do as they please there, just as they did when Barre was in the south of the country.

[Nur] Where are Siad Barre's forces stationed at present?

[Aydid] They are stationed across the Somali border inside Kenyan territory. They cross the border and then move back inside Kenya. They have heavy weapons and military vehicles. The Kenyan authorities confiscated the military equipment that accompanied Siad Barre when he fled the country. They have recently handed

them over to General Ali Barre, who is stationed with his forces in the border areas and who recruits and trains the refugees and tries to attack us. [passage omitted]

[Nur] What is your opinion of interim President Ali Mahdi? And do you believe that he can attack your positions in the south of the capital?

[Aydid] The "manifesto group" which appointed Ali Mahdi to his post can no longer make any decisions in Somalia, because its presence is limited to the Karan area in the north of Mogadishu. The majority of the people rally around the Somali National Alliance, the Somali National Movement in the north of the country, and the Democratic front for the Salvation of Somalia in the center and north of the country. These fronts control all Somalia except Karan. I do not believe that Ali Mahdi has the military capability to launch another offensive against us.

[Nur] Do you intend to invade the northern part of the capital, which is under Ali Mahdi's control?

[Aydid] No. We are committed to the cease-fire agreement we drew up with the United Nations. The agreement should be honored and we are committed to it. This is because we seek peace, not war. We will not attack any other party. But if we are attacked, we will defend ourselves, as we did in the past.

[Nur] President Ali Mahdi said that he is willing to meet with you to resolve the dispute. Do you agree to meet with him?

[Aydid] No. I will never, never talk with Ali Mahdi. This is because he represents only himself in the country, and there is no justification for meeting with him.

Ali Mahdi Ready To Meet With 'Any Party'

PM2509125192 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 22 Sep 92 p 14

[Interview with 'interim' Somali President Ali Mahdi Mohamed by 'Uthman Ahmad Nur in Mogadishu; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Nur] [Somali National Alliance leader] General Aydid told SAWT AL-KUWAYT in the interview we published yesterday that he has started implementing self-rule in the areas under his control. Do you believe that this weakens your role?

[Ali Mahdi] Self-rule over whom?! The country is experiencing the biggest human catastrophe in the world ever, the people are dying from starvation, the people need security and food, and Aydid is denying them food and security. Is that the self-rule he is implementing? [passage omitted]

[Nur] Some Somalis regard your call for sending international forces to Somalia as an attack on the country's sovereignty!

[Ali Mahdi] We did all we can to resolve internal disputes, restore stability to the country, and prepare for free elections. But my government faced resistance from General Aydid, who has driven the country into a new civil war.

In view of the huge quantities of arms in the hands of citizens I felt that the Somali crisis could not be resolved without foreign assistance. This is why we called on the United Nations to help and mediate to secure a cease-fire and deploy its troops in Mogadishu, and it has succeeded in doing so.

We also called on the international community to give humanitarian help in stopping the fighting and providing aid to the needy and starving. I do not believe that this is an attack on the country's sovereignty, because UN forces are not occupation forces.

Nevertheless, I still believe that the only way to bring an end to the crisis and resolve our internal problems is dialogue and negotiations. I am willing to meet any party concerned with the crisis to bring an end to it.

[Nur] You refused in the past to call for convening a new national conference but you are calling for it to be convened now. What has changed?

[Ali Mahdi] I did not refuse to convene a national conference in the past. I just said that there was no need for another conference then. That was last year, and I already had started to implement the Djibouti resolutions.

Now that we have implemented most of the Djibouti resolutions and listened to the views of my colleagues in government and wise men of the country, we have decided to call for a new conference to assess the past stage and draw up new plans to tackle the human catastrophe which has befallen our country. [passage omitted]

Uganda

Museveni Says 'Agitators' 'Confuse' Population

EA2709143092 Kampala Radio Uganda Network in English 1900 GMT 25 Sep 92

[Excerpt] President Yoweri Museveni has said that the NRM [National Resistance Movement] government will not allow any person or any group of people to impose their will on the people of Uganda by refusing to wait for the constitutional process to be duly completed. The president, who was addressing a public rally in Mityana town, Mubende district, [central Uganda] this afternoon, assured the people of Mityana subdistrict that no one is going to be allowed to force the people of Uganda to adopt a political system which is not of their choice.

Mr. Museveni said he is aware that some political agitators have been going around trying to confuse the population about the political future of Uganda. He

assured the people of Mityana that the constitutional process is the one which will determine what political system the country will adopt.

Talking about the demobilization of soldiers of the National Resistance Army, President Museveni said the exercise was first and foremost in the interest of the Army itself to transform it into a small, professional, and well-equipped army ready for the defense of the country.

President Museveni told the people that he is aware of the prevailing poverty among the people. He appealed to district councillors to sit down with people, consult the Ministry of Agriculture, and identify what crops can be cultivated in each subcounty. By doing this, he said, they will ensure that there is food for immediate consumption and reserve for the future as well as food for sale to generate income to uplift their living standards.

The president reiterated his appeal for the people against AIDS, which is mostly spread through sex. He appealed to parents to spare time to talk to their children about AIDS. [passage omitted]

Museveni Meets ACP-EEC Group

*AB2609204092 Kampala Radio Uganda Network
in English 1000 GMT 22 Sep 92*

[Excerpt] President Yoweri Museveni has had a meeting with ACP [African-Caribbean-Pacific]-EEC joint assembly delegation which is in Uganda on a fact-finding mission to look into allegations made by the Rwanda government that

the Rwandan Patriotic Front rebels are operating from bases in Uganda. The delegation was led by co-president Dr. (Askin Simmons) from the ACP member states and Mrs. (Maria Coretti) from the European Parliament. The meeting took place at the president's home in (Ruakitura) Nyabushozi, Mbarara District.

The co-presidents briefed President Museveni about their mission and what they have been doing since they arrived in the country early this week. They informed him that they had been favorably impressed by the economic development taking place in Uganda.

President Museveni told the delegation that Uganda is committed to the establishment and maintenance of peace in the region and that there is no real problem between Rwanda and Uganda. After giving them a brief background of how Rwandan citizens came to be in Uganda and other countries in the region, he assured the delegation that the problem in Rwanda is a problem between the Rwandan people and only the Rwandans themselves can find a solution.

The president and his guests also discussed the development of democracy in Africa and the current economic problems being faced by the African continent. Mr. Museveni noted the positive contribution made by the EEC in building up infrastructures in African countries, but remarked that the African people need to acquire [the] capacity to sustain these infrastructures. He pointed out the importance of funding private people and firms involved in industrial enterprises as one way of extricating Africa from its present economic problems and creating this capacity. [passage omitted]

Reportage on De Klerk, Mandela 26 Sep Summit**Presummit Remarks**

*MB2609203192 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1800 GMT 26 Sep 92*

[Text] News just to hand from the summit between the government and the ANC [African National Congress] is that the ANC has agreed to reconsider its mass action campaign, but agreement has been reached on the hostel issue and the carrying of dangerous weapons. The parties have declared the channels of negotiation officially open. We will have full details later in this news cast. Earlier, the two leaders set the tone for a conciliatory approach to the meeting when they entered the hall together.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Mr. De Klerk and Mr. Mandela appeared friendly when they met this morning, and were very courteous toward each other. The state president allowed Mr. Mandela to speak first. In his address, Mr. Mandela said the release of political prisoners and practical steps to address violence would help to create the climate which was necessary for the resumption of substantive negotiations. He said the ANC had not come to the table to claim victories.

[Mandela] Recently, we have had a spate of massacres, like Boipatong and Bisho. We have been blaming each other for these events. It is our duty to ensure that an interim government of national unity is brought about speedily. This will go a long way in addressing many of these problems. I hope that when next we meet, we will be able to agree on dates for elections for a constituent assembly and the installation of an interim government.

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. de Klerk said the government had come to the meeting in a positive spirit, and he expressed the hope that the meeting would take the negotiation process forward and would contribute to reconciliation.

[De Klerk] I am confident that today we will also take the process forward. Forward to the goals about which there is really no difference of opinion. I believe that it is fundamentally important that we should move to a situation of a government of national unity, a government of national reconciliation, representative of all the major role players as soon as possible. And I believe that under the guidance of such a government of national unity, it is important that we will then move as soon as possible to a full-fledged new constitutional dispensation. [end recording]

News Conference

*MB2609191592 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1820 GMT 26 Sep 92*

[Text] And now as promised, we bring you that story we referred to earlier, the news conference following this morning's ground-breaking meeting in Kempton Park between President De Klerk and Mr. Nelson Mandela. As we said, the channels of communication between the

government and the ANC have been declared officially reopened after months of deadlock, but weeks of behind-the-scenes talks between chief negotiator.

[Begin recording] [De Klerk] We will leave these premises tonight in the knowledge that through negotiations, obstacles which have arisen, have been sufficiently cleared to once again put two of the major role players—there are also other important role players—back on the road of communication and negotiation. The channels of communication are open again. Thus we have moved nearer also to the resumption of multiparty negotiation. We have focused as was the intention, on violence and violence-related issues, and the record of understanding deals with three important aspects in that regard. It deals with problems surrounding hostels, it deals with problems surrounding the display of dangerous weapons, and it deals with mass action and violence-related problems arising from mass action.

[Mandela] Our people, and the world in general, looked to this summit with the hope that we have begun today to rescue our people from this chaos. They looked to the summit today with the fervent wish that we can resume the process of negotiation that will take us forward to our final goal of democracy for all South Africans. In answer to these hopes and expectations, I believe that we can say that we have succeeded.

[Unidentified reporter] Agreement has been reached on a number of thorny issues today, and concessions were made by both the government and the ANC.

[Mandela] Practically, implementation has been agreed upon to ensure that a proclamation will be issued to prohibit the carrying and display of dangerous weapons at all public occasions, subject to exceptions based upon guidelines being prepared by the Goldstone Commission. On the issue of hostels, the government undertook amongst other things, to fence identified hostels by 15 November 1992. Interim measures will also be immediately undertaken should there be any delay in this process.

[De Klerk] There is an important decision, and that is, the African National Congress will, against the background of the progress which we have made today, examine its program of mass action after proper consultation with its constituency. [end recording]

Agreement on Constituent Assembly

*MB2709064692 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 0600 GMT 27 Sep 92*

[Excerpts] The ANC [African National Congress] is to review its mass action campaign, and the government is to take steps regarding the carrying of dangerous weapons and the fencing off of certain hostels. This breakthrough follows the summit meeting between President F. W. de Klerk and Mr. Nelson Mandela at the World Trade Center in Kempton Park. [passage omitted]

The government and the ANC also agreed to resume multiparty negotiations as soon as possible, and continue bilateral talks. President de Klerk and Mr. Mandela agreed that there should be a serious move toward an interim government of national unity and a democratically elected constituent assembly. The constitution-making body would function in the transitional period as an interim parliament. The interim government during this period would operate within a transitional constitution providing for national and regional government. The interim parliament might function as either a one or two chambered body.

On the question of political prisoners the two leaders reached agreement that in addition to the 150 prisoners already released, those who had committed political crimes before 8 October 1990 would also be released.

Agreements Detailed

MB2709130092 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES
in English 27 Sep 92 p 2

[Unattributed report: "What Mandela and FW [de Klerk] Agreed"]

[Text] Yesterday President FW de Klerk and ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela rubber-stamped a broad range of agreements reached by key negotiators Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa over the past few weeks of intensive negotiations.

On a **CONSTITUTION-MAKING BODY** it was agreed that:

- There will be a democratically elected constituent assembly which will also serve as an interim parliament;
- It will draft and adopt a new constitution. It will sit as a single chamber and take decisions agreed to by special majorities;
- It will be bound only by those principles agreed to beforehand;
- It will operate for a fixed time and will be elected within an agreed time frame;
- It will have a deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

On the question of an **INTERIM GOVERNMENT** it was agreed that:

- There will be an interim government of national unity which will operate in terms of an interim constitution.

On **POLITICAL PRISONERS** it was agreed that:

- 150 will be released before Monday. (148 have already been released);

—Robert McBride and the Messina bombers will be released on Monday in terms of a parole application approved by prison authorities on Friday;

—The remaining political prisoners—about 250—will be released by November 15. In the weeks following the summit, they will be categorised—not in terms of their crimes, but in terms of the political motivation for their offences;

—Legislation will be introduced in October concerning prisoners serving life sentences. Once this is passed, McBride and the two others' parole conditions will fall away;

—The question of a general amnesty will not be linked to the release of political prisoners. The ANC gave a verbal undertaking that it would be dealt with by an interim government of national unity.

On the control of **DANGEROUS WEAPONS** it was agreed that:

- The public display of dangerous weapons, which includes traditional weapons, will be banned;
- A proclamation to this effect will be drafted with the assistance of the Goldstone commission. It will set out guidelines under which exemptions could be granted by a magistrate. These could include a gathering like Shaka Day.

On **SECURING HOSTELS** they followed the draft detailed agreement between Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer which identifies more than 24 hostels, primarily in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] region that needed to be dealt with urgently. They agreed that:

- There will be security patrols and a police presence outside the hostels concerned;
- Hostels will be adequately fenced, and those hostels that do not have fences will have their security upgraded.

Mandela Interview

MB2709200392 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1815 GMT 27 Sep 92

[Interview with African National Party leader Nelson Mandela by SABC reporter Freek Robinson in the SABC Johannesburg studios "earlier this afternoon" on the "Agenda" program — first paragraph is studio introduction; recorded]

[Text] Yesterday's summit between the state president and Mr. Mandela has been hailed as rescuing a negotiated future from the fire. Has the way really been cleared for a swift resumption of all party talks for an inclusive constitution? Tonight Agenda presents exclusive interviews with both leaders. First, the leader of the ANC [African National Congress], Mr. Nelson Mandela. Freek spoke to him earlier this afternoon.

[Robinson] Mr. Mandela, welcome to the Agenda studio.

[Mandela] Thank you.

[Robinson] Yesterday's meeting with President de Klerk raised hopes in the country. Is it justified?

[Mandela] I think those hopes are justified. We made solid progress on the issues that were on the agenda, and I noticed that across the face of everybody who was there, both from the side of the ANC and that of the government, there was an expression of seriousness, of appreciating the crisis that is facing the country, and the determination on the part of all of us to move the country away from the present crisis. For that reason, I'm very hopeful about the future.

[Robinson] If you say that you're hopeful about the future, can we deduce from that that you're also referring to the negotiating process, because it's stated explicitly in this document that the basis has been laid for the negotiating process, for the resumption thereof, but then it says hereafter extensive bilateral discussions will be held. Now what is happening as far as multilateral party discussions are concerned?

[Mandela] One must remember that the negotiation process started with discussions between the ANC and the government. For four years we had confidential discussions with the government, and in May last year we came out into the open and the two delegations met. What went wrong was the breakdown of this communication between the government and the ANC. We would like to clear away all the obstacles which have led to the breakdown in the talks between the government and the ANC. We are committed to multilateral discussions.

In fact when there was a move by the government, as well as the Inkatha Freedom Party, that only the ANC, the government, and Inkatha should come together and set an agenda for the country, we rejected that and insisted that all political parties should be involved. We are committed to that, but it is necessary for us to clear the problems between the two major parties. But we are not the only parties, and nothing can be resolved if we don't involve other political players. It is for that reason, therefore, that we are committed to multiparty talks.

[Robinson] But let me ask you about that, and you refer to Inkatha for instance, but you have seen the statement today made by Chief Buthelezi where he stated, in a press statement, that he was withdrawing from negotiations with the government because he cannot accept an agreement between the two of you—the ANC and the government—that influences to a degree his party as well, specifically as far of course as the dangerous weapons are concerned?

[Mandela] I do not want to dwell on what Chief Buthelezi has said. Mr. de Klerk did indicate to me that he intends consulting Chief Buthelezi and I hope those consultations will take place. Bilateral discussions are entered into by all political parties in this country.

Buthelezi, himself, has had bilateral talks with the government. We never even worried. He has even had bilateral talks with the Conservative Party and bilateral talks are perfectly legitimate, especially as between the government and the ANC. Because if there is no cooperation between these two major parties, there can be no successful multilateral talks. And I sincerely hope that Mr. de Klerk will be able to sort out things with Buthelezi.

[Robinson] Will you personally like to have bilateral talks with him?

[Mandela] We have had bilateral talks with everybody—all political parties without exceptions, including political parties and administrations in the bantustans. We will continue with that policy.

[Robinson] Including with Chief Buthelezi?

[Mandela] With everybody, we'll not make an exception to anybody. Now, but the question of whether, of when to meet any particular leader in the light of the volatile situation that exists in some of the bantustans is not one that can be adequately addressed over the mass media. I would like to talk frankly to you and to take you into confidence, but I'm sure you'll understand that tempers are very high and we have very carefully to prepare, to lay the groundwork for discussions with any particular political leader and you must accept that it is our fundamental policy that we should consult with everybody. There is not a single political leader with whom we have not had discussions.

[Robinson] Do you think the agreement between yourselves and the government, specifically as far as the dangerous weapons are concerned and the banning thereof, can be practically implemented without the consent of Chief Buthelezi?

[Mandela] We need the consent of every leader in the country on all the issues that we discussed with Mr. de Klerk yesterday. It is not a question of consulting any specific leader. It is a question of ensuring that the entire South African community realizes the danger of the public display of weapons of death. It is an emergency situation that must be dealt with as such. We want dangerous weapons of all kinds to be banned as an act of emergency. Later...

[Robinson, interrupting] And the keeping of weapons?

[Mandela] A public display, what we are concerned with is the public display of these weapons. The keeping of weapons, except those that require firearm... I meant licenses, is not a question of concern at all. What is...

[Robinson, interrupting] It is to other parties, Mr. Mandela, with respect, they say that you are still keeping arms caches in the country and you might just as well now unearth those and show them out to police.

[Mandela] We have come into an agreement with the government about those weapons and we have agreed

that, depending on the development of the political process, we will hand them over for joint control. And the moment for that is when an interim government has been introduced. There is no danger at all...[coughs] excuse me please.

[Robinson] You're welcome.

[Mandela] There is no danger at all of the African National Congress as such, and I stress the African National Congress as such, carrying weapons when going to meetings and threatening people, attacking people. Those weapons are in caches and waiting to be delivered for joint control at the right moment.

[Robinson] It is stated in this agreement, Mr. Mandela, that you and the National Party, the government, will try together, will do everything in your power to calm down tensions and to find ways and means to promote reconciliation. Could you spell out in practice what you and your party are going to do to achieve this?

[Mandela] Well, I have already indicated publicly that we would like to take the country away from the present mess, that we have criticized each other and made serious allegations, and that even assuming that other political parties are responsible—the government for example—even on that assumption, we are still obliged as the ANC to avoid what happened in Bisho. It is our responsibility....

[Robinson, interrupting] If you want to, sorry Mr. Mandela, if you want to avoid what happened at Bisho, are you still continuing with the mass action campaign, in particular the march to Ulundi?

[Mandela] Let me just complete this. It is my sincere hope that the government will also carry out its duty of maintaining law and order and of making it possible that there is an end to the repression in the bantustans like the Ciskei, kwaZulu, and Bophuthatswana.

[Robinson] Transkei, Venda?

[Mandela] No, Transkei, Venda are different in the sense that, although they are military governments, the ANC, the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], and other liberation movements can operate there. There is free political activity...

[Robinson, interrupting] They are still...

[Mandela, interrupting] ...and there is no repression. That is the distinction. Now, let me...

[Robinson, interrupting] The march on Ulundi? If you could please refer to that.

[Mandela] Yes. It is strange that there should be such concern about our intention to march to Ulundi. When Mr. de Klerk in August last year announced that he was going to visit Ventersdorp to address meetings, the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] objected, and threatened violence if he went there. Mr. de Klerk insisted that

it was his democratic right to go to Ventersdorp, and he went. White South Africa understood that this was his democratic right, and supported him. And even when the violence occurred and three people died, nobody criticized Mr. de Klerk for having gone to Ventersdorp, in the face of a threat by the AWB. But when it is ourselves, in exactly the same situation, where there is severe repression, white South Africa does not understand. Those double standards we find unacceptable.

[Robinson] Mr. Mandela, I don't want to get into an argument with you, but there are two differences. One, the circumstances are different. It is today, after today, or yesterday, you committed yourself to initiatives to try to calm down tensions? and clearly, it's obvious for any reasonable person—with great respect—that that march will cause tensions. There's no doubt about that. The second point is, Mr. Mandela, that the expressed view in public by other leaders of the ANC, not necessarily yourself, is that that march must symbolize the toppling of the government. Now, in view of those two factors, are you still pressing ahead for that march?

[Mandela] Mr. Robinson, there is no distinction whatsoever between the two. When Mr. de Klerk went to Ventersdorp he did so in the face of a threat by the AWB. He knew that there would be trouble, and in fact people died. You don't say that in a similar situation, if the AWB again makes the same threat, Mr. de Klerk should not go there. Why should we be unable to go to any particular area in the country to assert a democratic right which white South Africa recognizes Mr. de Klerk has? Are you not worried about the repression that is going on in these areas? The killing of innocent people, simply because they do not want that other political organizations like the ANC should have space to carry on with their political activities, no matter how peaceful, how disciplined, how nonviolent? Where exactly do you draw the distinction, except that Mr. de Klerk is white, and the people who are going to lead that march on Ulundi are blacks? That is the only difference that I see.

[Robinson] Mr. Mandela, as I said, I don't want to argue with you, I'm simply putting questions to you, but...

[Mandela, interrupting] No, but we have said you must also take into account that yesterday we made a very important statement. We said, in the light of the progress that has been made at the summit, a basis has been laid for the resumption of talks, and in the light of the fact that those talks—the resumption of negotiations—will also be as successful as the discussion at the summit, we are therefore prepared to examine the whole question of mass action. But for an organization like ourselves, when we come to examine a decision of this nature, we have to consult with our regions. We are a democratic organization. The National Party [NP] can issue an edict ordering its members to follow a particular line. That is not our approach. We are a fully democratic organization. We will meet the regions. We will exchange views with them. The National Executive will then sit down and consider the views of the regions, and take a decision. But we are

going to honor the undertaking that we made at the summit, and that is what is important.

[Robinson] Will you advise your supporters in any direction?

[Mandela] No. You must understand that the reason for mass action is the fact that we cannot make progress through negotiations. There was a deadlock because the government had blocked the way forward. We have now resumed bilateral talks, which we believe will lead to successful multilateral talks. If that happens, there will be no need for mass action at all, especially if Mr. de Klerk and the government carry out their responsibility and duty of ensuring that the repression in these bantustans is ended, and that there is free political activity.

[Robinson] Mr. Mandela, we don't have much time to dwell on that. We have about 2 minutes, and so I just quickly want to refer you to the one particular issue of difference between yourselves and the NP or the government at the moment. That is the question of amnesty. You will remember that the NP wanted to link amnesty to the release of political prisoners. Now the one part of it has been agreed upon. The question of political amnesty, are you in principle in favor of amnesty to all people?

[Mandela] The basic question here is whether a criminal is entitled to pardon his own crimes. That is what is involved here. What the government wants to do is to pardon senior state officials and all those who have committed crimes under the influence of apartheid. It is something totally different from pardoning people like freedom fighters who committed offences in the course of fighting a system which has been pronounced by the United Nations as a crime against humanity...

[Robinson, interrupting] And in the process killed innocent people.

[Mandela] Just a moment. And these that the government wants to pardon now committed crimes against innocent people for the purpose of upholding apartheid, which is regarded as a crime against humanity. This is the fundamental distinction. In any case, what the government did with freedom fighters, members of the liberation movement, was to say: Here is a form, we want you to state what crime you have committed for which you want a pardon. In our view, this is not the position with the contemplated legislation by the government. They would like just a blanket general amnesty. We find that unacceptable. Everybody should state very clearly what crime he has committed, and that is why we say the whole question of an amnesty must be dealt with by us jointly in an interim government. We will do so not from the point of view of revenge. We don't intend having a Nuremberg trial. We will do so from the point of view of reconciliation, from the point of view of saying: Let us forget the past, let's concern ourselves now with the present and the future. That will be the spirit in which we will go into this question. But each case will be examined on an individual basis.

[Robinson] Mr. Mandela, this is clearly a question that we can still carry on for a long time to come. Lastly, in a few words, to sum up, what is the next step between yourself and the government now?

[Mandela] Well, the next step is the continuation of the bilateral talks between Minister Roelf Meyer and the secretary general of the ANC, Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa. They have done exceptionally well, both of them. They have actually been able to resolve very sensitive questions, and I have the confidence that these two men, together with their officials, will help us to pull the country away from the present chaos.

[Robinson] Thank you, Mr. Mandela, Thank you very much for your contribution tonight. We wish you and other political parties well in your endeavors to find peace in this country.

[Mandela] Thank you very much.

De Klerk Interview

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in English 1815 GMT 27 Sep 92

[Interview with State President F.W. de Klerk by SABC political reporter Lester Venter in the Agenda studios in English and Afrikaans; passages published in italics in Afrikaans—introduction by SABC TV announcer Suzette Pocock—live or recorded]

[Text] [Pocock] With me in the studio is our political correspondent Lester Venter. *Over to you, Lester.*

[Venter] Suzette, thank you very much, and Mr. President, good evening to you, sir.

[De Klerk] Good evening.

[Venter] Mr. President, the understanding that you've reached at your summit yesterday seems to deal largely with the issue of the release of political prisoners. Now you yourself have said, and although you have said that the matter of retribution should have the door closed on it, nevertheless people do see retribution as part of the process of justice. Now this must've been a difficult decision to arrive at on several levels. In the first place, I'd really like to ask you as a person, and as a man, how did you face that decision?

[De Klerk] It was an extremely difficult decision to take. I'm also a lawyer, and I agree with you that retribution is part of justice, but we are simultaneously in South Africa trying to effect reconciliation, and reconciliation and retribution are really two mutually exclusive terms. It was a difficult decision, because morally, the deeds for which the people are now being released have performed and the offences which they committed are totally, totally unacceptable. The decision must not be seen as now saying that those deeds, as such, can be morally excused. But we are busy—and that was what finally motivated me to nonetheless take the basic decision—we are busy at the moment to close the book and to bring

about reconciliation between opposing, almost forces which fought against each other. And unless we do it, we would have continued to be tied to this basic dispute about the past, and that would become, it has already become an obstacle on the way forward.

[Venter] *May I ask you, that same level of difficulty had to come into the government's own decision—and indeed there's a perception created that the government or the Cabinet was not even in on that question, and indeed that the minister of justice did at one stage adopt a different stance—how easily did that decision come to the Cabinet, and what type of problem was there?*

[De Klerk] *Let me say straight away, that is unfounded speculation, that there was tension within the government over this matter, and deep-lying differences. We battled together, it was not only difficult for me, it was difficult for all. Second, it was about the how and the when. Eventually we did find an answer and decided that it has to be done according to new legislation. The worst cases, the life cases, will have to be dealt with according to new legislation in the final instance which will be in this short session, because my powers, my general powers, are not really designed for such a big scale, call it amnesty because it is in fact amnesty.*

Second, the government decided that it had to apply to everyone on an equal basis, it cannot be done selectively. That is why there's a wrong perception that these measures are being taken to please the African National Congress [ANC], that is not the case. Yes, they feel strongly about it, because statistically there are definitely far more of their people involved in the situation, more than other people supporting other parties or who acted for other political motives. But fundamental to our decision, is that all have to be combed with the same comb, even if they are in jail or not in jail, or for that matter not even arrested, not even charged yet.

[Venter] *Sir, I would like to get to the question of amnesty later. I just want to ask your view of the decent South African who has to put up with the fact that now there are criminals who are free in the streets—how must the ordinary, decent South African adapt to that?*

[De Klerk] *In our decision, there were two tests put out, which immediately limited the number of people involved, people who can give a measure of surety to the public: And these are only people whose release would contribute to reconciliation. Second, only those who committed the crime with a political motive are being considered, and there is an identification process taking place. In other words, the typical criminal who murders and robs for his own gain, and who does it again—he was not considered. Those that are being considered, are those who believed—I am not trying to justify what they did—that what they did was for a cause and that they were doing it against an enemy, that it was an act of war. We, therefore, had nothing to do with ordinary criminals, and in that sense, I want to give the public the assurance that our legal system is not being undermined by this.*

[Venter] We touched on the issue of amnesty—and I don't want to suggest that the process of negotiations should be seen in every one of its chapters to be an equal balance on the seesaw of compromises and concessions made by each of the parties—but nevertheless, it does seem that in this meeting that has taken place almost all of the concessions came from the government.

[De Klerk] That is absolutely not the position. Can I just on the question of prisoners say it would be noted from the memorandum of understanding that we couldn't reach consensus, and that the government firmly said that although we didn't reach consensus, we will deal with those who have not been charged for the same offences also committed with a political motivation. We will deal with them at the same time, and on the same basis and we are going ahead with that. With regard to the other matters, on the constitutional matters part of the memorandum of understanding, it is a reflection of what has already been agreed at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]. And by the way, it reflects the consensus which includes Inkatha and quite a number of other parties. There is nothing new in that. With regard to the hostels and the dangerous weapons, I want to emphasize that the government in any event, was busy dealing with this. We have to deal with this. I would like to stress that what we are going to do will be to implement the revised recommendations of the Goldstone Commission. We're not going to implement what the ANC tells us to implement. We're going to implement what we in principle agreed to when Mr. Vance was here.

We're going to implement further and take it a little bit further than what we have already agreed to in the Peace Accord.

[Venter] Do you mind if I interrupt you there, Mr. President, because it's on that very point that there were existing agreements on the issues of weapons, and particularly on hostels, that the ANC said it was compelled to place the demands before the summit, the demands that should be met before, because they said that you had made those promises which I hear you saying now that you did, and that the ANC said that you did not meet timeously. Now is that valid criticism?

[De Klerk] Yes and no. Yes in the sense that unfortunately quite a period has gone by without sufficient action, but there are reasons. With regard to the weapons, we have implemented an absolute prohibition in all unrest areas, and that has had a very beneficial effect. Furthermore, the matter was then placed before the Goldstone Commission and we are now taking it further. With regard to the hostels, we immediately voted a vast sum of money, in excess of, in the final analysis, of 200 million rand, but we stated all along that we are not prepared to impair the dignity of those who live in hostels.

Secondly, that what we do, should be the result of negotiation with the community as well as with the

hostel dwellers themselves, and we had tremendous problems to get these negotiations going. Also because the civics, ANC-orientated civics, frustrated the negotiation process with regard to the hostels. I hope that we will now get better cooperation so that we can move toward implementation of what we wanted to do all along, but it must be done in such a way that it doesn't cause more problems than it will solve, because we must realize that there is a volatile atmosphere. Secondly [as heard], the original demands, the original recommendations of Judge Goldstone did not take into account the complexity of the issue, and we have now succeeded in limiting the immediate problems to hostels related directly to regular violent incidents, instead of trying to address a massive problem across the board.

[Venter] Mr. President, are you really suggesting that it was primarily resistance from the civic organizations that prevented the government from instituting its undertakings on those hostels?

[De Klerk] I'm saying it played a definite role in retarding the whole process. I also think that there was too much red tape involved. We are cutting through that red tape now.

[Venter] I wanted to ask you, what is different now, what is it going to make it easier to implement your undertakings, to push aside the impression that the government dragged its feet?

[De Klerk] Firstly the fact that the government, and that is now being... [changes thought] we now also have the support of the ANC, has in an organized manner interaction with Judge Goldstone limited the number of hostels directly involved. It now becomes a focused task, and we had to go through a period of planning to attain that.

[Venter] On the matter of amnesty which is one of the concessions that the government made along the way to the summit by dropping the demands or the predilection for amnesty, but now in a way that the understanding is phrased whereby the absolution from prosecution will be granted also to persons who have not yet actually been charged, isn't that a form of amnesty brought in through the back door?

[De Klerk] It's not brought in through the back door. During our discussions and also yesterday at the press conference we made it absolutely clear that we intend to pass legislation which will not only deal with prisoners—those prisoners, which according to us was not part of the previous agreement of August 1990—it will not deal with them only, but also with regard to indemnity to those who have not been charged for the same offences committed with a political motivation. So yes, we're going to deal with it in terms of what is stated also in the memorandum of understanding as our firm position, and I have also announced that we will apply the same basic principles which were applied with the previous round of indemnification. That will result in cleaning the slate up till, we've now indicated our intention is at this

stage to do it the 8th of October, and it will clean the slate in all directions. There is no other just way in which to do it.

[Venter] When you say all directions Mr. President, are you referring to the possibility of charges that could be levelled against members inside the state establishment who have committed criminal acts?

[De Klerk] The same test must be applied to all individuals, we're not indemnifying parties, we are not indemnifying organizations, we are indemnifying or releasing individuals, and the same test will be applied to each and every one, whether it was a policeman, whether it was an AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement], whether it was an ANC, whether it was an Inkatha supporter. The test is political motivation.

[Venter] I see. We've been talking now about compromises and concessions that may or may not have been made by the government. But what about the ANC? Give us an insight, from your perspective, into yesterday's discussion. What sort of aspects and compromises and gains in territory do you feel that you left that meeting with?

[De Klerk] Well, I'm not approaching it from the viewpoint to have a scoreboard, and we score this and they score that. Everything which we undertook to do falls within the parameters of our authority as a government. Only we can do it. Second, each and every aspect mentioned in the memorandum of understanding, in which we accepted duties, or to do certain things, every such aspect we would have dealt with in any event, whether we reached an agreement or not. The fact that we've reached an agreement ensures, to a greater extent, the success of what we will be doing, because it won't be so politically controversial.

[Venter, interrupting] Why did you leave...

[De Klerk, interrupting] But can I just say, on the other hand, it is extremely important that the fruits of yesterday was that there will be... [changes thought] the basis has been laid between us and the ANC for a return to bilateral as well as multiparty negotiations. The ANC has decided it won't participate. It is now on the verge of changing that decision. It is in the interests of the peace process that that should happen. Second, the ANC has undertaken to examine its position on mass action. I believe that mass action is one of the most important contributing factors to our economic woes of the moment, in the sense of frightening off investments. I believe it is an important factor contributing to violence.

[Venter] Mr. President, do you mind if I interrupt you, because I'd like to come to mass action separately. Now I would like to ask you, these matters contained in the memorandum of understanding, that you say you would have got to anyway: Why, tactically speaking, did you leave it to the point where these matters had to be dealt with in a summit, that the ANC had to place these matters as demands before the government, that had to

be met before the process could go on? And please tell me if the answer is the same to my earlier question on the same subject.

[De Klerk] We didn't leave it. If we stormed in unilaterally, just did it, it would have become a controversial aspect in itself, and then we would have had a dispute about the fact that, while I am attending to their people who are prisoners, while I am attending to problems which they have constantly raised, they would have said we should have talked about it before I acted. In that sense of the word, therefore, by interacting and by also negotiating, we eliminated a controversy and we assured that what we do will also have the support of those directly affected. And may I say, we didn't only discuss these things with the ANC. We also discussed these things—and we are in the process of discussing these things—with other parties who are also affected by them. We're not only negotiating in one direction.

[Venter] *Thank you, sir. Let me ask you what you understand by the ANC's undertaking to reconsider mass action? What do you think the result will be? What do you expect the outcome to be?*

[De Klerk] *I believe they have made a commitment to review the matter very seriously. They would certainly not have given the undertaking if they did not realize that the whole country and the international community wants to see that they abandon many aspects of mass action, because it leads to violence, it leads to disruption of the economy, it harms all South Africans. So I expect—and I believe the whole country expects—of them that they seriously and urgently deal with this issue, and that they come back with a decision, a new approach which will promote peace, and which will specifically—let me emphasize this—show that if it is clear that what they plan will lead to violence, then...*

[Venter, interrupting] *Such as Ulundi?*

[De Klerk] *Such as Ulundi, such as Bisho, then they will distance themselves from it in the interests of the whole South Africa. Violence must be avoided.*

[Venter] Mr. President, talking about Ulundi, the development that has followed the summit is, of course, that Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has taken not only himself but the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] out of the negotiating process. So looking back on the understanding, that is the process by which you achieved it with the ANC, has it not been a tactical mistake not to include Chief Minister Buthelezi and his IFP in the process?

[De Klerk] I'm in favor of multiparty negotiations. We've had it at Codesa. It broke down as a result of the ANC's decision. My prime objective in bilateral discussions with the ANC was aimed at getting them back to the multiparty negotiation table, and I think we're almost there. I find it a pity that Chief Minister Buthelezi has reacted as he's done. I've decided to write to him extensively. A member of the government will issue, in

the meantime, a statement. But can I say this: What is now happening illustrates a very big problem which we have in South Africa, and that is, that two important parties, two of the three biggest parties in South Africa, have no communication with each other. Two of the three, that is, ANC and Inkatha. They are not talking, really, to each other. I've been talking to both. I've been seeing Chief Minister Buthelezi regularly on a monthly basis, for the past months. What is necessary is that the aggressive stance between these two parties should be defused, and that there should be communication. I would prefer it initially to be even bilateral between... [pauses] it appears to me more and more that we won't have peace until Mr. Mandela and Dr. Buthelezi also make their peace, and until the ANC and the IFP make their peace. To a great extent it is ANC supporters and Inkatha supporters who are killing each other.

[Venter] The perception there is that the gap is, of course, widening, not narrowing. What would you suggest as a practical method...

[De Klerk, interrupting] I will continue to work very hard to reverse that process, and I think that all leaders in South Africa, and all the peace instruments which we have created, but specifically, also, the leaders of those two organizations, have a responsibility to narrow that gap.

[Venter] How?

[De Klerk] By talking. There is no other way to do it, but through negotiation. If everyone insists on first having a victory, we're not going to make good progress. And I will give all my energy to attain just that.

[Venter] How do you expect Chief Minister Buthelezi to react to your undertaking that you've given to the ANC on the carrying of weapons?

[De Klerk] I had a date with Chief Minister Buthelezi to discuss with him the detail of the proclamation on Tuesday [29 September]. I will still consult him.

[Venter] Sorry, what was the day to meet, this coming Tuesday?

[De Klerk] Yes. But we also had a discussion fairly recently about it, and the general terms of what is in this agreement have already been transmitted to him, it has been discussed with him. I know it is a sensitive issue, and many of the refinements brought about in this regard accommodate his anxiety. The question of exemption, the question that it will be not aimed at cultural weapons. It is aimed at all dangerous weapons. It is restricted to public occasions, and therefore the limit and scope of it is directed at defusing the situation which is typical when violence arises.

[Venter] Now, Mr. President, of course you say you had a date with him and that is because Chief Minister Buthelezi has said that he will no longer talk to you.

[De Klerk] That's right. I must accept that it's impractical to think that we can meet on Tuesday, but as I said, I will, in my own way, personally communicate with him. I have built up a relationship of trust with him, and within that spirit, I will communicate with him.

[Venter] Mr. de Klerk, just in closing, when do you expect Codesa Three to be back on track?

[De Klerk] It's difficult to put a time frame on it, but the sooner, the better. That is our attitude. We will continue with negotiations in all directions with the aim to get convergence again, so that multiparty negotiations can take place again. I think there might be a need for some restructuring; as a matter of act, Codesa Two felt it. This is part of what we will be looking at, soon.

[Venter] How soon?

[De Klerk] I think soon. It is possible. If we make a breakthrough, if we overcome the new obstacle, then I would say it would be possible before the end of the year, but on the other hand, if not, then we'll work for very early next year.

[Venter] Mr. President, thank you very much, and good night.

[De Klerk] Thank you.

Agreements Detailed

MB2709130092 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES
in English 27 Sep 92 p 2

[Unattributed report: "What Mandela and FW [de Klerk] Agreed"]

[Text] Yesterday President FW de Klerk and ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela rubber-stamped a broad range of agreements reached by key negotiators Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa over the past few weeks of intensive negotiations.

On a **CONSTITUTION-MAKING BODY** it was agreed that:

- There will be a democratically elected constituent assembly which will also serve as an interim parliament;
- It will draft and adopt a new constitution. It will sit as a single chamber and take decisions agreed to by special majorities;
- It will be bound only by those principles agreed to beforehand;
- It will operate for a fixed time and will be elected within an agreed time frame;
- It will have a deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

On the question of an **INTERIM GOVERNMENT** it was agreed that:

—There will be an interim government of national unity which will operate in terms of an interim constitution.

On **POLITICAL PRISONERS** it was agreed that:

- 150 will be released before Monday. (148 have already been released);
- Robert McBride and the Messina bombers will be released on Monday in terms of a parole application approved by prison authorities on Friday;
- The remaining political prisoners—about 250—will be released by November 15. In the weeks following the summit, they will be categorised—not in terms of their crimes, but in terms of the political motivation for their offences;
- Legislation will be introduced in October concerning prisoners serving life sentences. Once this is passed, McBride and the two others' parole conditions will fall away;
- The question of a general amnesty will not be linked to the release of political prisoners. The ANC gave a verbal undertaking that it would be dealt with by an interim government of national unity.

On the control of **DANGEROUS WEAPONS** it was agreed that:

- The public display of dangerous weapons, which includes traditional weapons, will be banned;
- A proclamation to this effect will be drafted with the assistance of the Goldstone commission. It will set out guidelines under which exemptions could be granted by a magistrate. These could include a gathering like Shaka Day.

On **SECURING HOSTELS** they followed the draft detailed agreement between Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer which identifies more than 24 hostels, primarily in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] region that needed to be dealt with urgently. They agreed that:

- There will be security patrols and a police presence outside the hostels concerned;
- Hostels will be adequately fenced, and those hostels that do not have fences will have their security upgraded.

Bisho 'Turning Point'

MB2709140492 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1800 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] At the National Party's [NP] Transvaal Congress at the World Trade Center, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said Bisho was a turning point in the negotiating process. Linda Van Tilburg reports:

[Begin recording] [Van Tilburg] Mr. Meyer told the congress that the government realized after the Bisho

massacre that violence had to be addressed before constitutional negotiations could be resumed. He said it was also a turning point for the ANC [African National Congress], who had been forced to rethink their hardline position on negotiations. Mr. Meyer confirmed that progress was being made in his discussions with ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa.

[Meyer in Afrikaans, in progress] At this moment I cannot say more than that we are busy trying to create a foundation on which this discussion can take place, so that it can indeed materialize as soon as possible.

[Van Tilburg] Mr. Meyer said he believed the deadlock position at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] had had some positive effects, as parties to the right and to the left of the political spectrum had been drawn into the process. Mr. Meyer today denied that the government had agreed to negotiations with the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] outside the country, with a neutral convenor. He said the government would, however, be accommodating.

[Meyer] We would like to ensure, on the basis of inclusivity, that all relevant political players in the South African political scene should participate in the process of constitutional negotiations, and what is necessary to get parties to the table, we will, from our side, fulfill our responsibility accordingly too. So, if it's necessary to find ways and means also to accommodate the PAC, although we might find their ideas, or the stumbling blocks, or the obstacles they are putting in the way, ridiculous almost, we still believe it's important also to get them to the negotiating table. [end recording]

Interim Government Legislation

MB2809065492 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0500 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] is to cooperate with the government on drafting legislation for an interim government. This follows Saturday's successful summit. The two sides officially opened the channels of communication following agreements on practical steps to curb violence. John Matham reports:

[Matham] Senior ANC negotiator Joe Slovo says intensive bilateral sessions will take place before next month's brief parliamentary session. Slovo says it is an accepted fact that Parliament will pass legislation setting up the first phase of interim government. He says that is why ANC negotiators want to thrash out key differences on constitutional issues. Slovo says Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] 2 established a good basis from which to work. Slovo says the ANC's commitment to reconsider its mass action campaign could be made because of the success of that campaign. He says it was intended to put negotiations back on track. Now that that has happened, the campaign can be reined in.

IFP Rejects Agreements

MB2709101692 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1000 GMT 26 Sep 92

[Text] The kwaZulu government and Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] have withdrawn from further talks with the government. This has just been announced by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Buthelezi has also rejected agreements reached between ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela and State President F.W. de Klerk at yesterday's historic summit. The IFP leader says his organization will withdraw from talks with the government until he has had the chance to consult on the way forward. Buthelezi says he believes that negotiations for a future constitution cannot go ahead now.

DP Welcomes Outcome

MB2709171292 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 1600 GMT 27 Sep 92

[Text] In his first public address since the meeting with President De Klerk, Mr. Nelson Mandela said in Lenasia, near Johannesburg, that the decision to negotiate with the government and the suspension of the armed struggle had arisen from the ANC [African National Congress] desire to end racial division once and for all.

The Democratic Party [DP] has joined representative business organizations such as the South African Chamber of Business and the Handelsinstituut [Business Institute] in welcoming the outcome of the summit. Dr. Zach de Beer congratulated President de Klerk and Mr. Mandela, saying that these were critical times, and that special actions were called for.

Meanwhile, Mr. Andries Beyers of the Afrikaner Volk-sunie [Afrikaner Peoples Union], has said that the government and the ANC are giving the impression that the future role of other political groups in important deliberations is to be scaled down.

ANC NWC Issues Statement on Bisho 'Massacre'

MB2509052792 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2015 GMT 24 Sep 92

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by: African National Congress: "Statement of the NWC [National Working Committee] of the ANC [African National Congress] on the Bisho massacre and its impact on the campaign for peace and democracy"]

[Text] The National Working Committee [NWC] of the ANC [African National Congress] has reviewed the campaign for peace and democracy in the aftermath of the Bisho massacre on 7 September.

The brutal pre-planned murder of unarmed, peaceful demonstrators was the clearest demonstration of the absence of the most elementary civil liberties in the Ciskei. This is the reality in which many South Africans

find themselves in other areas such as Bophuthatswana, kwaZulu and towns controlled by the extreme rightwing.

Those who were killed in Bisho fell in the effort to attain these rights for themselves and all the people of South Africa. The ANC dips its banners in tribute to these patriots and all those who sustained injuries. We salute the heroism displayed by the marshals and others who lost their lives or were severely injured protecting the leadership and helping others to safety.

The shooting was not a panic reaction of nervous Ciskeian soldiers but a carefully planned and rehearsed massacre. We are convinced that further evidence will emerge of a carefully calculated ambush under the overall direction of SADF [South African Defense Force] personnel. The De Klerk government therefore bears full responsibility for this dastardly crime.

The ANC has noted the scandalous hypocrisy of the De Klerk government and opportunists of all hues who have sought to blame the victims for this atrocity and thus to shield the villain. We note with regret that some leaders of the "liberal" Democratic Party have, in the most unprincipled way, joined the fray.

The attacks on the South African Communist Party cannot erase the stark reality that it was the troops of Brigadier Gqozo, under the command of South African Defence Force officers, who opened fire on unarmed demonstrators. We reject this campaign of calumnies and the well-orchestrated attempt to isolate the SACP [South African Communist Party] and sow divisions in the tri-partite alliance with the contempt it deserves.

The Bisho march has helped to further cement the unity of a broad spectrum of forces in the border region and the whole country behind the demand for free political activity and the removal of the tyrannical Gqozo administration. It has strengthened the bonds between the national leadership and the people of the region. The issues of free political activity, reincorporation of the bantustans and the direct responsibility of the De Klerk administration for the actions of its puppets have been put high up on the national and international agenda.

The National Working Committee has approved proposals of the alliance campaigns forum for further mass protest focusing on:

- a truly democratic constituent assembly and fully impartial interim government;
- measures to end the violence;
- release of all political prisoners;
- free political activity in the bantustans, rural areas and rightwing controlled townships
- restructuring of the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] to serve all the people;
- high food prices and other socio-economic issues; and

—solidarity with workers who have been dismissed.

Detailed recommendations on marches and other forms of action will be forwarded by the regions to the national structures of the tri-partite alliance. The programme will be reviewed [words indistinct] progress made with regard to the ANC's demands and the other concrete issues being addressed. [words indistinct]

The ANC reiterates its adherence to the National Peace Accord, and we shall always conduct the campaign for peace and democracy within the parameters of the accord and guidelines of the Goldstone Commission. Where there might be weaknesses in the accord, exploited by enemies of democracy to undermine free expression, these will be addressed in the appropriate forums.

We further reiterate that the campaign for free political activity is undertaken precisely to achieve this purpose, and is conducted entirely by, and in the interest of the people in the territories concerned. We therefore reject the slander by the De Klerk regime, Chief Buthezi, Mangope, Gqozo and their ilk that:

- mass action in these areas is an invasion by some imaginary outsiders;
- it is premised on the fact that they do not identify with ANC policies;
- it is aimed at seizing power. The ANC harbours no such dubious ambition.

It is quite clear that these servants of apartheid have seized on this straw to mask their tyrannical practices in areas they have effectively turned into personal fiefdoms.

All the people, in all parts of the country, have the right to freedom of expression and to join organisations of their choice. The ANC calls on all South Africans of goodwill to join in this campaign, for the sake of peace and justice, now and in the future. Issued by: Department of Information and Publicity 24 September, 1992

Reportage on Agreement on Prisoner Release

Ramaphosa News Conference

MB2509180592 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1743 GMT 25 Sep 92

[By Guy Rogers]

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 25 SAPA—The government has agreed to the phased release of 150 political prisoners on the eve of a now finalised De Klerk/Mandela summit, according to the ANC [African National Congress].

Although the release was not named specifically as the reason for the go-ahead given to the summit, African

National Congress Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa on Friday called it "a significant breakthrough".

The 150 prisoners formed part of a "kickstart" to show government's good faith, Mr. Ramaphosa said at a press conference at the organisation's Johannesburg headquarters.

"The agreement reached today... on the release of 150 political prisoners marks a significant breakthrough on the eve of the ANC-South African Government summit.

"The (President F.W.) de Klerk government was finally persuaded to accept that there were still hundreds of South Africans behind bars because they had taken up the struggle against apartheid," said Mr. Ramaphosa.

The government had "solemnly undertaken" to complete the release of the 150 prisoners by November 15. Most importantly, the government has been compelled to drop the linkage it was attempting to establish between the release of political prisoners and an amnesty for state officials implicated in high crimes, such as incitement to murder.

"The release of these prisoners, coupled with the firm undertakings the government has made with respect to the public carrying and display of dangerous weapons, and the securing of hostels, in the view of the ANC provide a sound basis on which to proceed with the summit on Saturday."

Asked if the ANC had not in fact backed down on earlier demands to the government concerning the security forces, made after the Boipatong massacre, Mr. Ramaphosa was evasive.

This matter would be dealt with further at a pre-summit press conference on Saturday morning, he said.

Asked if any agreement had been made on the release of right wing prisoners, the ANC secretary general would say only that his organisation had argued for the release of those who had fought against apartheid.

Asked about agreements on mass action, [words indistinct] summit press conference.

The complete agenda for the talks, which begin at the World Trade Centre on Saturday morning, would be published before ANC President Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk went into conference.

"There are a range of issues, and obviously violence is one," said Mr Ramaphosa.

The ANC secretary general said the issue of an interim government had also been discussed during the 18 pre-summit talk sessions between him and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

Details of these discussions would be revealed at Saturday's press conference.

Mr Ramaphosa said it had been agreed that three activists—Magoo's bar bomber Robert McBride and Messina trialists Mzondeleli Nondula and Mthetheleli Mncube—would be released on Monday.

Confirming an announcement by the ANC's western Cape branch, he said the release process had started on Friday afternoon. Further political prisoner releases would be dealt with "as they are identified".

Reports of "firm undertakings" on the issues of weapons and hostels are bound to raise the ire of the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP]. IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose said this week that Inkatha needed to be involved in discussions on these issues.

Most hostel residents are IFP members, and the "weapons issue" incorporates the controversy about the carrying of traditional weapons by Inkatha supporters and their standpoint that most unrest killings involve AK-47's wielded by the ANC.

Just exactly what these "firm undertakings" are, will also be part of the statement which will apparently be released before the summit on Saturday.

Still on the issue of political prisoners, Mr Ramaphosa confirmed that homeland detainees had come into the discussions between him and Mr Meyer.

The ANC had in fact submitted a prisoners list "well in excess of 550" to the government. The agreed phased release of 150 prisoners was seen as an act of "good faith" by the government, he reiterated.

Senior ANC/SA Communist Party representative Mac Maharaj said the ANC was going to the summit with considerable expectations.

"What happens tomorrow will give us some measure of how this country can move forward and with what speed."

—Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok in a statement on Friday night confirmed the government was starting immediately with the release of political prisoners.

Vlok Confirms Release

*MB2509181392 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1759 GMT 25 Sep 92*

[Text] Pretoria Sept 25 SAPA—Prisoners who committed crimes with political motivations are being released from Friday, Minister of Correctional Services Adriaan Vlok confirmed on Friday night.

In the government's first official statement confirming prisoner releases, Mr. Vlok said: "The Department of Correctional Services is presently implementing the government's decision of Friday with regard to the release of prisoners who committed crimes with a political motivation.

"Releases will take effect as from today (Friday) taking into consideration the relevant administrative processes."

African National Congress [ANC] Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa said earlier in the day 150 political prisoners would be released on the eve of Saturday's summit between President F.W. de Klerk and ANC President Nelson Mandela at Kempton Park near Johannesburg.

Mr. Vlok's statement, which gave no figures, follows Mr. de Klerk's announcement at the Natal National Party congress on Friday that political prisoners are to be released following agreement with the ANC.

ANC Statement on Release

MB2509195092 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1925 GMT 25 Sep 92

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by: African National Congress, 25th September 1992]

[Text] The agreement reached today, Friday 25th September, on the release of 150 political prisoners, marks a significant breakthrough on the even of the ANC [African National Congress]-South African Government summit.

After numerous meetings, during which this issue was on the agenda, the De Klerk government was finally persuaded to accept that there were still hundreds of South Africans behind bars because they had taken up the struggle against apartheid.

The agreement reached today puts behind us the arguments of the past two years. On the part of the De Klerk government it signifies a fulfilment of the commitments it undertook in terms of the Groote Schuur minute.

Today's releases will mark the beginning of a phased programme which the De Klerk government has solemnly undertaken will be concluded by 15th November, 1992, after an audited list of the remaining political prisoners has been completed to the satisfaction of both the government and the ANC. Most importantly, the government has been compelled to drop the linkage it was attempting to establish between the release of political prisoners and amnesty for state officials implicated in high crimes, such as murder and incitement to murder.

The release of these prisoners, coupled with the firm undertakings the government has made with respect to the public carrying and display of dangerous weapons, and the securing of hostels, in the view of the ANC provide a sound basis on which to proceed with the summit on Saturday September 26th. Issued by: The Department of Information and Publicity

PO Box 61884, Marshalltown, 2107, Johannesburg

Over 500 Prisoners Covered

MB2609133392 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1100 GMT 26 Sep 92

[Excerpt] The African National Congress [ANC] says that more than 500 political prisoners are to be released in stages by 15 November in terms of an agreement entered into with the South African Government. In a statement released in Johannesburg, the ANC says that 150 prisoners would be released with immediate effect. The other releases would take place in stages as the prisoners were identified. [passage omitted]

Sixty Released

MB2609174092 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 1600 GMT 26 Sep 92

[Text] Sixty more political prisoners have been released in terms of yesterday's agreement between the government and the ANC [African National Congress]. SAPA reports that 50 prisoners have been released from two prisons in Port Elizabeth, and at least nine from Leeuwkop near Johannesburg.

KwaMashu Shaka Day Celebrations, Developments

Buthelezi on Multiparty Forum

MB2709121392 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1100 GMT 27 Sep 92

[Text] The kwaZulu government and Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] have withdrawn from further talks with the government. IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has just announced this at the Shaka's Day rally at the (Princess Magogo) Stadium in kwaMashu near Durban. Buthelezi has also rejected agreements reached between ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela and State President F.W. de Klerk at yesterday's historic summit. Buthelezi has made several demands. James Lorimer is at the kwaMashu rally, and I asked him to elaborate on Buthelezi's demands:

[Lorimer] Chief Buthelezi has demanded a number of things. Firstly, he says there should be a multiparty negotiation forum which should oversee the disbanding of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation]. He says this multiparty forum should discuss how democratic South Africa, as he calls it, should respond to the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], and he says it should agree to the structure and the process of negotiations in the future.

Referring to the ANC and government's agreement that was reached yesterday, Chief Buthelezi says he will never accept that anybody will tell him not to carry a cultural weapon, and with regard to the fencing of hostels he says hostel dwellers will rip down any fences put around the hostels with their bare hands.

NP Comments on Decision

MB2709202392 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 27 Sep 92

[Telephone Interview with National Party spokeswoman Sheila Camerer by Chris Green on the "Focus on Africa" program on 27 September; first paragraph is studio introduction—recorded]

[Excerpts] The leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Chief Buthelezi, has today announced that he has withdrawn from all negotiations with the South African Government. After yesterday's summit meeting between President de Klerk and ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela, the government announced it would ban the carrying of all dangerous weapons and would fence off township hostels which been designated as trouble spots. Chief Buthelezi spoke today at a commemoration rally for the Zulu warrior King Shaka in the kwaZulu homeland. [passage omitted] Well, after yesterday's summit, the situation in South Africa had looked more hopeful and for some months, but today's announcement by Chief Buthelezi has tempered that optimism. On the line to Johannesburg, Chris Green spoke to National Party spokeswoman Sheila Camerer and asked her for her reaction.

[Camerer] Well yes, of course I was at the summit and there was a very cheerful atmosphere there. One really felt that the talks were getting back on track. The state president did mention Mangosuthu Buthelezi by name when he said that it would be most important for the National Party government to talk to the other major participants at the negotiations in bilaterals. He mentioned that specifically. In fact, there was a date, you know, due tomorrow. A lot of our allies at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], the groups that really supported the National Party and the government on many issues, were due to meet tomorrow to discuss federalism at a, basically a think tank, a bosh-beraad [bush conference] and in fact Mangosuthu Buthelezi was meant to be there. So, this is a bit of a blow from that point of view. But, I dare say there is going to be a lot of talking behind the scenes again.

[Green] Does this suggest that in fact the National Party failed to prepare the ground with the IFP for a resumption of talks with the ANC?

[Camerer] No, I don't think so at all, because we had our conference, our congress—you know we're a federal structure—we had our Natal congress on the 24th and 25th, in fact a couple of days ago, and there were observers from the IFP at our congress, as far as I am aware. And there were ongoing talks... [changes thought] in fact, there's a Women's Brigade conference coming up in two weeks time at which the National Party leadership, the women—the wife of the leader and other women from the National Party in Natal—have been invited to be present. So, I dare say that there is going to be a lot of mending fences and intensive talks. But I am optimistic that we will get the whole thing back on track.

De Villiers Comments on Buthelezi

MB2809060292 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 0500 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] It is not the intention of the government and the ANC [African National Congress] to exclude other parties by engaging in bilateral talks, and important leaders such as Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party are consulted regularly by the government. This is according to a statement issued in Pretoria by the acting minister of constitutional development, Dr. Dawie de Villiers. Dr. de Villiers said Dr. Buthelezi had been kept up to date concerning preparations and the agenda for the leaders' summit between the ANC and the government, and that his interpretation of the agreement reached with the ANC was incorrect.

Government decisions regarding dangerous weapons and hostel security had not resulted from the agreement, but had been based on recommendations by the Goldstone Commission, and the report by the secretary general of the United Nations. Dr. De Villiers pointed out that Dr. Buthelezi had accepted both reports.

'Thousands' Gather for Celebration

MB2709115692 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 1100 GMT 27 Sep 92

[Text] Thousands of Zulus have been gathered at the (Princess Magogo) Stadium in kwaMashu north of Durban since early this morning for the King Shaka celebrations. A mobile police station has been set up near the stadium and the celebrations are also being monitored from a helicopter. Our reporters at the scene report that there have been no incidents so far. Members of the United Nations observer team and the ANC [African National Congress] are monitoring the proceedings from the mobile police station.

In his address to the crowd, Dr. Buthelezi sharply criticized the South African National Civic Organization, SANCO, and the ANC-SACP [South African Communist Party]-COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] alliance for attempting to stop the celebrations from being held. He said that kwaZulu and the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] had never encouraged the kind of lawlessness that was being generated by the alliance.

Dr. Buthelezi said that the kwaZulu government would not be bound by decisions reached in bilateral negotiations between the government and the ANC and would reject as spurious and illegitimate any laws passed by Parliament giving legal effect to such conditions or decisions. He warned that the IFP was a national political force, and the kwaZulu government was an historic reality which could only be ignored at the peril of the negotiating process. He added that the IFP and the kwaZulu government rejected with contempt the notion that two out of the 18 participants at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] had the right to

decide unilaterally when, and under what conditions, negotiations could be resumed.

'Little Incident' Reported

*MB2709165792 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 1600 GMT 27 Sep 92*

[Text] In kwaMashu near Durban, the Zulus' Shaka Day celebrations have gone off with little incident. The rally goers, numbering about 7,000, were addressed by King Goodwill Zwelithini and Dr. Buthelezi. In his address, the king called on political organizations to bury their differences in the interests of all in the country, and said that disputes could be resolved through the National Peace Accord.

Proceedings were monitored by the United Nations observer group, ANC [African National Congress] regional representatives, and a large contingent of security forces and a special mobile police station was on hand. So far as is known, a man wounded in a knife attack was the only casualty.

One Killed, Several Injured

*MB2809065292 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0500 GMT 28 Sep 92*

[Text] One person was killed and several injured at the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] Shaka Day rally in Durban's kwaMashu township yesterday. A 16-year-old girl was reportedly killed by shots fired from a bus. The ANC [African National Congress] says at least 10 people were injured, and several houses damaged when attacked by IFP supporting hostel residents. A violence monitor says about five people were injured when shots were fired at them by suspected IFP supporters on a moving train. Before the rally a man was stabbed and injured by a group of people apparently because he was wearing an IFP t-shirt.

Portuguese-Speaking Soldiers Reportedly in KwaZulu

*MB2509160492 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 25 Sep-1 Oct 92 p 3*

[By WEEKLY MAIL Reporter]

[Text] Fears that Inkatha is co-opting members of the notorious Mozambique rebel group Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] have been fuelled by the arrival in kwaZulu of a mysterious detachment of Portuguese-speaking soldiers from Mozambique.

THE WEEKLY MAIL sent a reporter to kwaZulu this week to investigate reports that a "Renamo-type group" would be deployed in kwaMashu township, an African National Congress [ANC] stronghold where tension is mounting over Sunday's Shaka Day rally.

A highly placed kwaZulu Police (KZP) source confirmed that 36 trained Portuguese-speaking men were recently brought to kwaZulu from Mozambique and are now

based in Ulundi under the command of the KZP. The Mozambicans were imported with the help of members of the South African Police based in northern Natal, he added.

The source said they are intended to boost KZP strength when necessary, particularly if the threatened ANC march to the kwaZulu capital, Ulundi, goes ahead.

He said the Mozambican soldiers had breakfast on Tuesday with kwaZulu Minister of Police and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, KZP commissioner Major General Jac Buchner, KZP deputy commissioner Brigadier Sipho Mathe and other senior KZP officials.

Also on Tuesday, KZP officers were briefed in Ulundi by Buchner. He allegedly discussed strategy for handling the Shaka Day rally and told the officers that "people would be coming" to help the KZP. They would provide extra manpower for the celebrations, and would later help to police other kwaZulu townships.

The source said that during a break in the discussions, a KZP van driven by a uniformed sergeant arrived, bringing 18 men whom he said had been fetched from the SAP [South African Police] in Piet Retief.

The men all spoke Portuguese, with a Captain Manzini from Esikawini acting as interpreter. They were later taken to the Ulundi government offices to meet and breakfast with Buthelezi and the other senior police officers.

According to the source, the other 18 Portuguese-speaking soldiers arrived separately and all 36 have now been placed under KZP command in Ulundi.

ANC northern Natal chairman Aaron Ndlovu said he had received sketchy details of the mystery arrivals earlier this week and that officials of the organisation had asked the Goldstone Commission to investigate.

Buthelezi strongly denied the reports and dismissed any suggestion of a "Renamo-type group" operating from Ulundi as "a figment of ANC imagination."

And Inkatha official Suzanne Vos yesterday also called for a Goldstone Commission investigation. She said Ndlovu should be called before the commission to divulge his sources, adding that his statement was a highly inflammatory violation of the National Peace Accord.

THE WEEKLY MAIL's source said the Mozambican unit's brief is to back up the KZP forces this weekend in kwaMashu, where serious trouble associated with Sunday's Shaka Day rally is expected. On Wednesday five people were killed in unrest in the township, police reported yesterday.

The source added that Buchner had told his officers on Tuesday that all members of the KZP had to be on duty over the weekend and that no leave would be granted.

Buthelezi will address Sunday's rally in kwaMashu's Princess Magogo Stadium. Both Inkatha and the ANC have claimed they have information about attacks planned by the other side to ensure chaos in the township over the weekend.

Leaders of the two sides have urged a strong presence of international and local monitors on Sunday to minimise violence.

Pro-ANC organisations in the area have urged that the rally be called off, or be held in central Durban. Local civics are organising "mass evacuations" of several sections, particularly those along the route of the traditional march to the rally.

Conservative Party Holds Transvaal Congress

Treurnicht Resigns Chairmanship

MB2509154292 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1500 GMT 25 Sep 92

[Text] The Conservative Party [CP] leader, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, has resigned his party's Transvaal [Province] chairmanship, but has given no reason for the move. His successor as Transvaal chairman is the deputy leader of the CP, Dr. Ferdie Hartzenberg, and the new deputy chairman is Dr. Pieter Mulder.

At the party's provincial congress in Pretoria, CP supporters were urged in a proposal not to pay their television licenses until the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation], as it was put, acted fairly and justly. Dr. Mulder said the legality of the motion would first have to be tested before a final decision was taken.

To Mobilize Against Future ANC Rule

MB2609065592 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 26 Sep 92

[Text] The leader of the Conservative Party [CP], Dr. Andries Treurnicht, says that the CP will exert pressure on the government through large-scale mobilization of popular will not to subject the people to an ANC [African National Congress] government. Dr. Treurnicht said at the Transvaal congress of the CP in Pretoria last night that the party could not afford that well-disposed neighboring nations be destabilized and undermined by the ANC. He said that the CP would continue to motivate black leaders to resist the ANC and the SACP [South African Communist Party].

Referring to the CP's recent discussions with President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Dr. Treurnicht said that President Mangope supported the CP's policy of confederalism and that the CP welcomed him as a partner in the pursuit of such a system. Dr. Treurnicht added that the leaders of Qwaqwa and kwaZulu were also strongly opposed to the ANC's aims to destabilize them. Dr. Treurnicht said that the reason that he had resigned from his post as chairman of the CP in the

Transvaal was because he long held the view that this position should be separated from that of leader of the party.

Position on Interim Government

MB2609173792 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1600 GMT 26 Sep 92

[Text] The Conservative Party [CP] says it will regard as a declaration of war the installation of an interim government that does not acknowledge the right to self-determination for what it broadly terms the Afrikaner. The Transvaal congress of the CP accepted this resolution just before its conclusion in Pretoria. It also said the government would have to face the consequences of such a step.

The CP leader, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, said the state president and the government were clearly the losers in the talks with the ANC [African National Congress], because the government had to make compromises all the time. He said his party was not interested in a compromise between the two leaders, and that was why it did not want to become involved in the negotiations.

Interim Government 'Declaration of War'

MB2709054892 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1800 GMT 26 Sep 92

[Text] An interim government will be seen as a declaration of war against the Afrikaner. This was one of the points adopted at the Transvaal congress of the Conservative Party [CP] in Pretoria today.

The talks between President de Klerk and Mr. Mandela also came under attack from the CP's leader, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, who said the government was giving in to all the demands of the ANC.

[Begin recording] [Treurnicht] Mr. de Klerk starts with the idea of an interim government, and at the same time he tries to take part in talks about regionalism and federalism. Mr. Mandela has a very clear cut claim and demand. He wants the surrender of power, and I would say a reconciliation between those two points of view won't bring us any further in the solution for the problems of South Africa. The Conservative Party is not interested in a compromise between those two viewpoints.

[Unidentified reporter] The deputy leader of the party, Dr. Ferdie Hartzenberg, said President de Klerk had already capitulated, and that after the inception of an interim government, all chances of self-determination for the Afrikaner would be lost. Dr. Hartzenberg said the party's mobilization plans were well underway, and that the Afrikaner could only obtain his freedom through white elections, negotiations with friendly black leaders, and through struggle. Other discussion points adopted by congress dealt with the repatriation of foreigners with temporary or permanent working permits to clear the

way for unemployed Afrikaners, and that local authorities call a referendum to determine whether voters were in favor of reincorporation with black, colored, and Indian local authorities. Congress also requested the party council not to participate in any forthcoming one-man, one-vote elections or referendums. [end recording]

Policy on Repatriating Foreigners

MB2609165292 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1500 GMT 26 Sep 92

[Text] A Conservative Party [CP] government will repatriate foreigners to make way for unemployed Afrikaners. That's according to a motion accepted at its Transvaal congress held in Pretoria. The congress decided that people living in the country under foreign passports, or under temporary or permanent work permits, will be repatriated. CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg reiterated the party is mobilizing its members to resist living under what he termed a communist regime.

CP Deputy Leader Notes Mass Action Plan

MB2509120292 Pretoria PATRIOT in Afrikaans
18 Sep 92 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Mandela Is Going To Long for Robben Island"]

[Text] Professor, Doctor, (former jailbird) Nelson Mandela will long for Robben Island should he become leader of a so-called unitary South Africa, Conservative Party [CP] deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg warned amid loud laughter at the Cape CP Congress in Goodwood.

Dr. Hartzenberg warned Mr. Mandela in very clear language: "If you and your African National Congress [ANC]-South African Communist Party terrorists molest our soft targets, our wives and children, we will deal with you."

He said the ANC waged a terrorist war until the climate for negotiation was right.

The result is that South Africa now finds itself in a state of violent politics.

"A situation in which, if you do not get your way at the negotiating table, you just go into the streets and march.

"The CP is ready to bring this situation under control. Mr. Mandela will be shocked when the CP unleashes its mass action.

"The CP only has one ideal, namely, freedom in its own fatherland," Dr. Hartzenberg said.

He said the National Party [NP] is creating a political order in which all are going to become political slaves of the communists.

At first, the NP said communism was dead. Now Mr. Hernus Kriel comes and says the ANC must distance itself from communism.

The NP's whole federal campaign is aimed at "inspiring every white man, woman and child" to exist in slavery under the ANC."

The CP, on the contrary, is inspiring people to fight for their own fatherland and for personal freedom.

Further on Visit of OAU Observer Team

Concludes Work in Cape Town

MB2409161992 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1429 GMT 24 Sep 92

[By Ben MacLennan]

[Text] Cape Town Sept 24 SAPA—The Organisation of African Unity [OAU] fact-finding mission to South Africa had not lost hope for a resumption of negotiations, its spokesman Sam Ibok said on Thursday.

"We believe there is a general willingness on the part of the parties to resolve the problem peacefully," Mr. Ibok told a press conference in Cape Town.

In an apparent reference to the violence, however, Mr. Ibok said the OAU was "not happy with the situation on the ground".

The eight-person mission, which arrived in the country last Monday, held talks with senior Anglican clergy on Thursday morning at the home of the Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, who was out of Cape Town.

They also met the regional executive of the African National Congress [ANC] and management of the Golden Arrow Bus Company, two of whose drivers were recently killed in transport-related violence in the townships. Mr. Ibok said the OAU group would visit squatter communities on Thursday afternoon "and see how these communities have been affected by the violence".

The OAU representatives leave on Friday for Johannesburg, where they will meet Mr. Justice Richard Goldstone and hold further talks with government, ANC and Pan Africanist Congress representatives.

Mr. Ibok said that at the end of their three-week mission, the group would report back to the OAU with as yet unformulated recommendations on the role it could play in resolving violence in South Africa in conjunction with the government and other parties. The OAU would also be informed on the role for observers.

"We intend to strengthen the hands of peacemakers...rather than encourage those who are talking war and violence," Mr. Ibok said.

"We have not lost hope...it is our desire that there should be peace in this country."

There was enough room in South Africa for everyone who lived there, and the delegation believed that if the country was united and strong, it could make a difference to Africa. [words indistinct]

Violence From Political Bias

*MB2609064192 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1100 GMT 25 Sep 92*

[From the "Africa Report" program]

[Text] A member of the OAU delegates in South Africa, Sam Ibok, has stressed that the continuing factional violence stems from political intolerance among South Africa's liberation movements.

[Begin Ibok recording] In Africa we are concerned about the violence and loss of life and the (?postponement) in the negotiation process. So, we believe that we should come here and strengthen the hands of those who are [word indistinct] peace, those who are looking for peaceful resolution of the problem. We are here to consult with all the parties to see what contribution we can make to the peaceful resolution of the problem. [end recording]

Angolan Foreign Minister Visit, Talks Reported

'Assurance' From De Klerk

*MB2509133892 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1300 GMT 25 Sep 92*

[Text] Angola has asked South Africa to remain neutral in Angola's elections. Foreign Minister Pedro van Dunem has conveyed that message to State President F. W. de Klerk. He is in the country on a short visit prior to next week's voting.

Van Dunem told a news conference he asked for, and received, assurance from De Klerk that all South African Government support to UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] has ceased.

The foreign minister said the ruling MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] party is concerned that UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi might have received promises of support from rightwing elements during a recent trip to South Africa. Van Dunem says the tone of Savimbi's speeches has moved from conciliatory to confrontational since that visit.

'Certain Forces' Support UNITA

*MB2509160292 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1522 GMT 25 Sep 92*

[By Adrienne Carlisle]

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 25 SAPA—Certain forces in South Africa continued to support the opposition UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of

Angola] party in Angola, visiting Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem alleged in Johannesburg on Friday.

Mr. van Dunem was speaking at a press conference following a meeting with African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela.

He said he did not believe the SA Government "officially" lent its support to the former rebel movement, although UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi had met "certain generals" from the SA military in South Africa earlier this month, he alleged.

Mr. van Dunem refused to elaborate but said that since Dr. Savimbi's return to Angola, the UNITA leader's attitude to the election process had changed and he had allegedly made renewed calls for violence.

The Angolan foreign minister said that during his meeting with State President F.W. de Klerk on Thursday he had requested the SA Government to put pressure on Dr. Savimbi to adhere to the peaceful process in the run-up to the country's first democratic elections next week.

"I did not think we should ask for South African intervention in Angola at this moment but I did express concern at the renewed calls for violence from Dr. Savimbi."

Mr. de Klerk had assured him that the SA Government would in no way render assistance or support to UNITA.

"He agreed to put pressure on Dr. Savimbi to come into line with the process."

Mr. van Dunem expressed concern that should the ruling MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] party win the elections, Dr. Savimbi would resume civil war.

He hoped that the elections on September 29 and 30 would be fair and free of intimidation and violence.

South Africa and Angola were two of the most important countries in the region and it was therefore necessary to establish peace and stability so that co-operation and economic integration could take place.

"We are working hard to normalise relations on various fronts."

He reiterated the Angolan Government's commitment to establishing a government of national unity should the MPLA win the elections.

Approximately five million voters have been registered for next week's elections and 18 political parties will participate.

Mr. van Dunem expressed confidence that the ruling MPLA (Movement for the Liberation of Angola—SAPA) would win the election but added that it would respect a

UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) victory, providing elections were free and fair.

IFP Halts Participation in Local Peace Group

*MB2509134992 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0900 GMT 25 Sep 92*

[Text] Inkatha's Lower South Coast region has withdrawn from the local peace structure.

In a statement, the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] region says it is suspending its participation in the Local Dispute Resolution Committee with immediate effect. The statement says this is because of continued brutal attacks on IFP members in the region, including the recent killing of 12 Inkatha youths at Bomela and the killing of an IFP representative on the Resolution Committee. The statement also cites a lack of respect for tribal structures and councillors as a reason for the decision.

De Klerk on Steps To Curb Violence in Natal

*MB2509112992 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 1100 GMT 25 Sep 92*

[Text] The state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, has announced various measures to curb possible violence in Natal during the next few days. Among other measures announced by Mr. de Klerk at the Natal National Party Congress in Durban, was that the top structure of the police in the province would be reinforced. In addition, permanent units of the Internal Stability Unit would be established in Estcourt and Eshowe. Mr. de Klerk added that another Defense Force company would be deployed in Natal, and that additional Puma helicopters, riot control vehicles, and field motorcycles would be made available to the police.

However, he warned that violence would not decrease as long as it was encouraged directly or indirectly by political leaders, and until the National Peace Accord was strictly adhered to.

De Klerk Addresses Natal National Party Congress

*MB2509115492 Johannesburg SABA in English
1059 GMT 25 Sep 92*

[By Pierre Claassen, political correspondent]

[Text] Durban Sept 25 SABA—The Westminster system backed by the African National Congress [ANC] is a domination model which negates people's rights in South Africa, says State President F.W. de Klerk. Addressing the Natal National Party's congress in Durban on Friday, Mr. de Klerk said federalism or regionalism offered a foundation for genuine, fair and equitable power-sharing.

"It is able to guarantee a better, fairer, purer and more lasting form of democracy than other models, such as the Westminster system. It is my conviction that strong

regional government, based on sound federal principles in a constitutional state is able to make an important contribution to reconciliation, long term peace, progress and prosperity."

The government planned to have further meetings with a variety of parties over the next three weeks to negotiate, as he put it, regularly and extensively on federalism and other issues. Some of these parties held widely divergent views, he said.

"In spite of a standstill at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], discussion and negotiation are continuing." Substantial progress was being made in many areas. "Until we return to multiparty negotiations which include all the parties, the National Party will continue to build consensus among those who indeed want to negotiate and to take the lead in the process of continued reform.

"We are committed to write a new constitution, not to please or benefit ourselves, the ANC or anyone else in the short term, but a constitution that will be able to accommodate the complexities of our difficult society and deal with all of the inherent tensions built into our country, effectively."

"There is a growing realisation that the Westminster model, to which the ANC attaches such importance, cannot work in our country," President de Klerk said. "It may work well in homogeneous societies, but it is not suitable for heterogeneous societies. In essence it is a domination model which, in situations such as ours, has led to a negation of the rights of individuals and of cultural minorities. Just as the majority refused to accept minority domination in the past, so too will South Africans refuse to accept majority domination and suppression of their rights in the future."

Mr. de Klerk said that this was why the old system had to be replaced by a new system which would—include all South Africans; extend the vote to all; grant all citizens equal participation in political, economic, social and all other activities and processes; have the capacity to deal meaningfully with the complex questions of a multicultural society.

Paper Outlines Current Phase of Mass Action

*MB2409150792 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English
24 Sep 92 p 28*

[Article by Ike Motsapi: "Mass action rolls on with new moves"]

[Text] Phase four of the rolling mass action campaign of Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions], the ANC [African National Congress] and SACP [South African Communist Party] began in earnest this week with a series of events planned for up to year's end.

Some of the planned action includes selective consumer boycotts in certain areas.

Tomorrow Cosatu will march to the Mozambican border to demand the de-electrification of the border fence.

The march is part of the tripartite alliance mass action campaign aimed at installing a new democratic government by the end of the year.

And as from October 1 until the end of the month, Cosatu plans to occupy the national headquarters of companies that have dismissed workers.

Other tactics still to be decided and finalised by Cosatu, the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party will be used to force employers to reinstate those workers.

During mid-October Cosatu members will support a strike by its affiliate, the South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union for centralised bargaining.

The October 11 to 19 period will be regarded as a week of action for political and violence demands.

Large scale occupation of Government buildings and blockades of all cities and towns are to take place on October 12 during the opening of Parliament.

Cosatu is considering holding the people's assembly on that day.

Proposals for a work stayaway on this day in to be discussed by the affiliates and finalised at a special central executive committee of Cosatu on October 1.

On October 11, which is regarded as the International Day of Political Prisoners, Cosatu plans to march to prisons throughout the country to demand that prisoners be released.

Cosatu also wants to intensify its campaign for free political activity in all the homelands.

Some of the points to be considered are:

The need to intensify the struggle so as to move as speedily as possible to the holding of elections for a democratic Constituent Assembly;

A climate has been created for the holding of such elections, meaning that the alliance should intensify the campaign for free political activity and an end to violence;

Solidarity action in support of dismissed workers and workers affected by violence;

Companies implicated in attacks on Cosatu members must be given ultimatums after which they must be targeted for selective boycotts;

Cosatu to investigate the implications of a judgment against the Numsa [National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa] strike for the right to go on strike;

The need to finalise the Workers Charter campaign and ensure that the workers summit takes place before the end of the year;

Cosatu to assist in the establishment of structures in drought affected areas, including helping to establish public works programmes; and

Intensify and revive the campaign around VAT [value added tax] and lower food prices.

Differences Within National Party Camp Viewed

MB2609104492 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 25 Sep-1 Oct 92 p 15

[Report by Gavin Evans: "60's to the Right, 40's to the Left: Will it be a Shoot-out?"]

[Excerpts] If you think the African National Congress [ANC] is wracked by political tensions, just try dealing with the other side. This remark is often made by business and diplomatic sources involved in regular contact with those in power. It may well be overstated—and President FW de Klerk has certainly shown impressive dexterity in holding the ring within the National Party [NP] and the government—but behind the appearance of unity lie several key differences.

NP spokesman and Springs MP Piet Coetzer says reports of divisions within the party's ranks have been "a bit overstated".

"We're busy with the reconstruction of the total South African society and it is therefore logical that there would be a re-defining of various policies, which inevitably leads to lively debate on just about every issue. But I can state categorically there are no tensions."

Perhaps the most important of these "lively debates" relates to the role of the security forces—a factor which has inspired the government's enthusiasm for a general amnesty (which in turn has prompted recent threats to charge ANC leaders for actions going back to the mid-1980s).

Sources close to the cabinet and the South African Defence Force have noted that the government's reluctance to take strong action against Military Intelligence (MI) and former security police officers directly implicated in political murders—such as MI chief General "Joffel" van der Westhuizen and former Vlakplaas head Colonel Eugene de Kock—is motivated by more than just the fear of how far the exposure will go. De Klerk and his cabinet advisers believe it is essential to retain the full backing of the security forces, and to do this they have to go soft on the hard men in the military and the police.

This manifested itself clearly with Roelf Meyer's transfer from minister of defence to minister of constitutional affairs.

"Meyer was despised by most of the army generals, who openly called him the 'canary' because of his spell in the air force choir, and they did their best to sideline him," said one SADF [South African Defense Force] source. "When (former minister of constitutional affairs) Gerrit Viljoen collapsed, De Klerk took the opportunity to replace him with Meyer, and to replace Meyer with the less threatening Gene Louw—even though they're not wild about Louw because he's such a lightweight yes-man."

Similar pressures are said to have been behind the removal of the relatively liberal Johan Scheepers from his deputy law and order portfolio last month.

On the other hand, the influence of the Crime intelligence Service (formerly the security police) and of MI in particular has been significantly reduced relative to that of the National Intelligence Service (NIS), now headed by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. In several cases NIS agents have been involved in investigating possible illegal activities by MI agents.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel is generally regarded as the most reactionary of the top cabinet ministers (in a sense this perspective is almost a requirement for his job). But Kriel has also retained a degree of independence from his generals which his far weaker predecessor, Adriaan Vlok, was incapable of doing.

It is worth noting that several other key conservative cabinet ministers are among those who in a past political era were viewed as arch-reformers: Viljoen, Coetsee and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha are three frequently mentioned.

"Pik is pushing hard for the idea that the ANC must be weakened and that the NP can only go into an election in alliance with Inkatha and other parties," commented a business leader who has regular contact with cabinet ministers. "In general, it would be true to place him in the hardliner camp at present."

Another source pointed out, however, that much of what Botha says is rhetoric—in particular, his claims about the NP's victory prospects. "Pik is the Jay Naidoo of the NP. He may be immensely confrontational in public, but when the chips are down he can cut a deal. In the end, his judgment is based on what the Americans, British and Germans think."

Viljoen, a former Broederbond chairman, retains his deep fear of white Afrikaners being swamped and is desperately seeking a way to prevent this. After his various minority veto constitutional proposals were abandoned by the NP, he initiated the push for an extreme form of "confederal federalism". The concept found expression in the party's proposals at this month's federalism conference—arguing for a central government with powers restricted to foreign and constitutional affairs, the military and national intelligence.

Coetsee has recently been consistently on the conservative side of NP debates and in contrast to several of his colleagues—including Meyer, the government's chief negotiator—he retains his hardline opposition to the release of most of the remaining political prisoners unless there's a general amnesty.

Today's cabinet "left" is said to include Leon Wessels (46), Sam de Beer (48) and, more cautiously, Dawie de Villiers (52). Finance Minister Derek Keys clearly tends in this direction, though business sources say he has so far refrained from interventions outside his portfolio.

Meyer (45) leans leftwards, though most observers note that he is a consummate and extremely ambitious politician who plays his cards carefully and is therefore harder to categorise. Deputy constitutional affairs minister Tertius Delpont also tends in this direction, but he was consistently overruled by Viljoen during the Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] negotiations.

Most of today's cabinet "right" are older men whose long-term career prospects in a non-racial government are limited: Viljoen (66), Botha (60), Coetsee (61), Louw (61), Magnus Malan (62). The "left" tend to be men in their 40s and early 50s who realise they will have to deal with the ANC for years to come, but currently have considerably less power within the cabinet. De Klerk's key confidants include Viljoen and Coetsee, as well as the chief of the Broederbond, Dr JP de Lange (66). [passage omitted]

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus commented that some differences within the NP may be more apparent than real. "There are some cabinet ministers one can identify as particularly unpleasant."

Top of the current list would be Kriel, while there are others such as Wessels who are better.

But one has to be cautious about how far these divisions go because for some time the government has had a co-ordinated approach in which some members carry carrots and other carry sticks."

Stellenbosch University political scientist Professor Willie Breytenbach said there were several issues of potential conflict within the NP's support base, "such as the future of agriculture, the bureaucracy and, of course, over how to handle the securocrats".

Another simmering tensions mentioned by some party sources is the dominant role played by the Broederbond in NP affairs. All the white, male, Afrikaans-speaking ministers are members of the secret society, but membership is denied to the party's growing constituency of coloured and Indian supporters, as well as to its female and English-speaking members.

Breytenbach, however, believes that most of the present conflicts boil down to questions of tactics and style: "The NP needs to bind the ANC into agreements, and it wants to defeat the ANC."

"It would be very difficult for a Malan or a Kriel to be partners with the ANC in an interim government, and very soon they will have to lump it or leave it.

"But for Wessels or De Villiers, or even De Klerk, this would be no problem. They would have no scruples about it."

27 September Press Review of Current Events, Issues
MB2709142892

[Editorial Report]

SUNDAY STAR

Courage Needed for Compromise—"We, like many people of all political beliefs, aren't all that happy about the release of unrepentant necklacers, psychopathic murderers such as the kwaZulu police 'Beast' and the imminent freedom of mass killers such as the Wit [white] Wolf," leads off the Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English in its "Our View" column of 27 September on page 28. The paper goes on to say that it accepts that the "end might just justify the means" if such expediency is the only way to bring about a "broad peaceful solution." It goes on to ask why it took so long to reach this accord on political prisoners and why "our leaders dithered and delayed the inevitable while tensions heightened and thousands died?" The paper notes that it "would be stupid" to demand quick fixes to all problems, but says that leaders can be expected to be realistic when faced with the inevitable as in the prisoner issue. They should "bow to it and stop playing to a gallery that demands confrontation. This will take courage and faith from men of principle." It concludes that these leaders should remember that "the majority of people are behind them and that they will be forgiven for compromise, but not for headline stubbornness that merely plunges us deeper into violence and despair."

SUNDAY TIMES

De Klerk-Mandela Meeting—In the first of two comments in its "Opinion" column entitled "Humbled hope" the 27 September Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on page 24 notes that the first indication President de Klerk and the African National Congress' Nelson Mandela were ready to meet came from the UN secretary general. This "gave South Africans a glimpse of the kind of ferocious international pressure brought to bear on South Africa's tribal chieftains" to get them to resume the search for conciliation and democracy. "To white South Africans, the idea of external intervention—especially by the United Nations!—will still seem strange, and possibly suspect." "Foreign intervention, it turns out, may well be the most benign force at play on the South African force field." The paper notes that the government and the ANC, "both facing threats of isolation from abroad and societal disintegration at home, seem ready to deal." It says that on the ANC side "it is now an open secret that the national

leaders are both divided among themselves about tactics and unable to curb hotheads like Mr Harry Gwala, the Stalinist, or youth leader Mr Peter Mokaba, or Mr Moses Mayekiso, the hard-line communist." Strains between the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions "are palpable." On the government side, "strains in the Cabinet have been showing in public" and "the National Party's capacity to govern has been so undermined that even Mr Justice Goldstone regularly—and sensibly—consults both sides in carrying out his difficult tasks." The paper concludes that "weakness has bred reasonableness." "The first round of negotiation bred hubris and arrogance; perhaps this round will be conducted with more humility."

Alienation of Buthelezi—In its second comment on the same page entitled "Ethnic battle cry," the SUNDAY TIMES notes that among the problems arising from the breakdown of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Codesa, and the ANC's mass action, "the greatest is the alienation of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his aroused supporters. Chief Buthelezi, hypersensitive but understandably fearful of being marginalised by the two greater political movements, has appropriated the symbols, rhetoric and the emotions of Zulu nationalism for his political cause." The paper notes that Buthelezi habitually defines "political conflict in cataclysmic terms, as ethnic civil war," and that in using these tactics "he both strengthens the radicals in other parties and is in turn strengthened by them. A march on Ulundi, as threatened by the ANC hotheads, would bring this process to a dreadful culmination." It concludes that the price of the collapse of Codesa 2 "may yet have to be paid in Zululand."

28 September Press Review

MB2809111992

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Summit 'Much Needed Boost'—"The 'summit' on violence between President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela has given a much-needed boost to negotiations," writes the Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 28 September in a page 10 editorial. "But Chief Buthelezi's denunciation of the agreements reached places a big question mark over their likely efficacy in curbing violence." The "Record of Understanding" reached by the government and the African National Congress, ANC, "should find favor with the ANC grassroots. It promises concrete results, returns political prisoner to their families and offers tangible restraints on the violence so often unleashed against township residents." "Conversely the agreement should diminish the standing of the mass-action activists." "The alarming thing about the accord is that Chief Buthelezi's rejection of it suggests the Government failed to secure his prior agreement on the hostels and traditional weapons issues." The government will be called upon to honor the agreements reached, and consequently it may need to "bite the bullet

and exert pressure on Chief Buthelezi," because "the Government can no longer indulge the fiction of complete homeland autonomy. But nor can the ANC afford to continue regarding Chief Buthelezi as a mere Government puppet."

BUSINESS DAY

'Comprehensive' Post Mortem Needed on Talks—"The two main political power blocs, now talking again, would do well to conduct a comprehensive post mortem on the events of the 19 weeks since the Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] 2 deadlock," states the Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 28 September in a page 8 editorial. "It has been a period of disaster for the hawks of the NP [National Party] led by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel." They resisted the ANC's 14 demands for returning to negotiations "every step of the way. But point by point they were forced to relent and what did the NP get in return? A vague undertaking by the ANC to 'examine the current programme of mass action.'" "Despite the superficial success of mass action, the ANC needs to give real content to its compromise undertaking." "The insecure Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he won't talk, and speaks of civil war. He is capable of delivering on his ominous promises if he feels sufficiently threatened. Somehow, the ANC is going to have to deal with its firebrands, and De Klerk will have to calm Buthelezi and his followers."

SOWETAN

Summit 'Beacon of Hope'—"Amid violence, tension and countrywide gloom, the Kempton Park summit between the Government and the African National Congress stands out as a beacon of hope," opines the Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 28 September in a page 10 editorial. "The 'Record of Understanding' endorsed by the summit ends the acrimonious and damaging relationship that has existed between them

since the collapse of Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] 2 in May this year." "It contains a refreshing urgency to move towards a democratic dispensation in South Africa as soon as possible. The crisis in South African politics, however, is not resolved," continues the SOWETAN. "The Government and the ANC must realise they are central, but not the only role players on the South African political scene. Other, like the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party], PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], Azapo [Azanian People's Organization] and even the white rightwing groups, must be drawn into talks to ensure ultimate success."

THE CITIZEN

ANC Stand on Sanctions 'Strange'—"It's a strange, strange world we live in," writes the Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 25 September in page 6 editorial. "Here we are suffering from the worst depression since 1904, ANC [African National Congress] president Nelson Mandela admits that the economic situation is frightening, but instead of encouraging the Americans to lift financial sanctions, the ANC stands by sanctions and carries out mass action that further bedevils the economy and frightens away investors. Furthermore, at a time when the Americans should be accepting that we are in transition to a new, democratic South Africa, sanctions spread." "So many governments are encouraging trade with this country, so many airlines are flying here, so many sporting and cultural ties have been resumed that even to use the word 'sanctions' flies in the face of reality." "Instead of continuing to offer us carrots, the US should see that we get loans and credits immediately, before the economy suffers further irreparable harm. The US is not letting the chance go of interfering directly in South Africa's affairs." "It is not known how many observers the United States will send, but we suppose it will be more than a handful." "Mr. Cohen thinks we should solve our problems ourselves—but that means we should not have American and other foreign observers poking their noses into our domestic affairs."

Angola

Government, UNITA Armies Disbanded 27 Sep

MB2809073892 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Statement read by General Antonio dos Santos Franca Ndalu for the Angolan Government at the end of a meeting of the Joint Political and Military Commission in Luanda on 27 September—recorded]

[Text] Under the terms of Paragraph 9 of Chapter 6 of the Angola Peace Accords, dealing with the formation of the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA], only the FAA will be in place when elections are held. No other troops should be on active duty. All members of the existing armed forces of both sides, who will not become members of the FAA, will be demobilized until elections are held.

The Government of the Republic of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, co-signatories to the aforementioned accords, hereby agree that:

The People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FAPLA, and the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FALA, are formally disbanded as of 27 September 1992. As of now, only the FAA will be in place, under the direct supervision of the Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM] until a new elected government is sworn in.

No. 2 [as heard]: Whereas administrative formalities still need to be carried out in order to fully integrate several members of the two former armed forces into the FAA and civilian life, the General Staff of the FAA will be responsible for those formalities. Unavem- 2 [UN Angola Verification Mission-2] will verify the implementation of such formalities in order to ensure that what is stated in the previous number is implemented within the shortest possible time.

No. 3: With a view to adapting the leadership of the FAA to those transitional measures, the Supreme Command of the FAA will as of now be replaced by a commanding team of the FAA General Staff, which includes Generals Antonio dos Santos Franca Ndalu and Arlindo Isaac Chenda Pena Ben-Ben, who will incorporate all high-ranking officers of the former FAPLA and FALA forces into the FAA.

The structures of the Joint Verification and Control Commission, CMVF, and the joint commissions appointed by the General Staffs of the FAPLA and FALA for the selection and demobilization of troops, and closure of assembly points, will come under the command of the FAA General Staff. Those structures and commissions will do away with their dual responsibilities, but will continue to carry out their present tasks.

In order to carry out the tasks assigned to the General Staff of the FAA, the following support units will be

created, and will be led by generals from the former FAPLA and FALA Chiefs of Staff:

Support Unit for the Formation of the FAA—Generals Francisco Higino Lopes Carneiro, Demostenes Amos Chilingutula, Abilio Camalata Numa, and Joao Baptista de Matos.

Support Unit for the Verification of the Disbanding of FAPLA and FALA—Generals Alberto Correia Neto, Fiel Cristovao da Conceicao Gato, Renato Campos Mateus, and Adriano Maquevela Mackenzie.

Support Unit for the Communications and Intelligence Service—Generals Mario Placido Cirilo de Sa (Aita), Joaquim Rangel Varela, Zacarias Mondombe, and Ezequiel Saul (Sefo).

Support Unit for Logistics and Infrastructures—Generals Roberto Leal Ramos Monteiro Ngongo, Afonso Lopes Teixeira Garcia (Lebe), Andrade Geraldo Sassungo, and Jeremias Mota (Jaule).

The Joint Commission on the Formation of the FAA, CCFAA, is dissolved forthwith, and its members will be integrated into the Support Units seconded to the General Staff of the FAA.

The military advisers seconded to the CCFAA, as well as the international observers seconded to the CMVF, will as of now be seconded to the General Staff of the FAA.

Incorporation into the FAA and the swearing in of the generals who will lead the General Staff and Support Units will be held on 28 September 1992.

Under the terms of its responsibilities, Unavem-2 ought to establish operational links with the CCPM and the General Staff of the FAA with a view to monitoring the pending activities relating to the disbanding of FAPLA and FALA, as well as the closure of assembly points, transportation of weaponry and demobilized troops, and the latter's integration into society.

Parties Agree To Abide by Election Results

MB2809074292 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Statement by Salupeto Pena, representative of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola at the Joint Political and Military Commission, CCPM, at the end of a meeting of the CCPM in Luanda on 27 September—recorded]

[Text] Taking into consideration the need to strictly monitor the election process as a whole, and taking into account the effective verification role played by the UN Angola Verification Mission-2 [Unavem-2] and the international community, as well as the neutral and supervisory role of the Electoral Police, which function under the jurisdiction of the General Elections Directorate;

Hoping that the National Electoral Council will guarantee to all registered Angolan voters, wherever they are, that they will fully and effectively cast their votes;

Bearing in mind what is stated in the Electoral Law, and in order to ensure that elections are truly free and fair, the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, as co-signatories to the Bicesse Accords, hereby declare that they will abide by the free decision of Angolan voters as expressed in the votes they will cast on the 29 and 30 September 1992 polls.

Dos Santos Reaffirms Stand on Unity Government

*MB2809122392 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1100 GMT 28 Sep 92*

[Text] Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has reaffirmed the governing MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] party's standpoint that if it wins this week's elections, it will create a government of national unity, with the possible participation of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]. Both the UNITA movement and the MPLA party also reaffirmed at the weekend that they would accept the results of the election.

UNITA 'Intent' on Clashing With Authorities

*MB2509171292 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 25 Sep 92*

[Communique issued by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola in Luanda on 25 September—read by announcer]

[Text] As reported, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] has planned a number of events to be held nationwide, marking the end of the election campaign launched about a month ago. The events include a rally, a march, and a political and cultural show at 1 May Square in Luanda on 26 and 27 September. The provincial government has granted permission for those events.

Subsequently, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] asked for permission to hold a fete at 1 May Square. The interested sides had agreed that the fete should end not later than the night of 24 September, in order to allow for the scheduled MPLA events.

Surprisingly, UNITA has gone back on its word, even going to the extent of holding a rally in that square. In fact, arrangements have been made, and if that were not enough, UNITA troops have been unlawfully patrolling the area.

MPLA sources believe that UNITA is itching for a clash with the authorities responsible for upholding law and order. Surely, that fits within the framework of UNITA's systematic plan to use any pretext to once again set the

country on fire, thus preventing the holding of elections scheduled for 29 and 30 September.

The MPLA will not play its adversary's game. Instead, it prefers the arrogance of those who have not as yet learned to live in a democratic society, and respect others' rights in an atmosphere of harmony, to be effectively shattered at the polls.

Developments in Run-Up To Elections

MPLA on Law, Order

*MB2509152492 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 25 Sep 92*

[Report on "Press Release" issued by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola—date and place not given]

[Text] The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] has been closely watching the process leading to the first free elections in Angola. In addition to conditions to be granted by the relevant agencies, the success of the elections will to a large extent depend on the serenity and calm which citizens may enjoy in order to cast their votes free of any pressures.

Yet, that is not what the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] wants to happen. The facts speak for themselves, and show that UNITA is not really interested that elections take place in line with the aspirations of the Angolan people. The news release adds that well informed sources say that UNITA is implementing a plan aimed at spreading violence and tension throughout the country, thereby making people stay at home, and prevent them from casting their votes. Although it has been conceived on a national scale, the plan will be particularly implemented in areas UNITA regards as potentially linked to the MPLA. One should also take into account the protracted policy of intimidation and terror that that organization has been carrying out in areas where state administration has not yet been established.

Whereas that attitude is absolutely incompatible with what one would expect from a party allegedly committed to national pacification and reconciliation, and considering that it is necessary to ensure that elections are held without unrest and shedding the blood of innocent people, the MPLA urges the relevant authorities to take appropriate measures. Like the MPLA leaders have reiterated, there is a firm and sincere commitment that we want the first free elections to be held in Angola on 29 and 30 September. There should neither be reluctance nor hesitation in ensuring public law and order. Whenever necessary, measures should be taken to effectively deter and repress the rowdy, and hooligans, and other criminals.

The news release notes that in view of a prompt response from the authorities, the MPLA believes that the electorate will neither allow itself to be intimidated, nor

abstain from exercising their patriotic duty of electing their legitimate representatives, free of any intimidation.

UNITA Says Accept Results

MB2509151792 (Clandestine) *Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 25 Sep 92*

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], the people's favorite party in the next week's elections, yesterday called on Angolan political parties to accept the election results, which are expected to be free, fair, and internationally supervised. At a news conference in Luanda yesterday, UNITA Secretary General Mango Alicerces said his party is working to prevent the elections being rigged.

Angolan and foreign experts believe UNITA and its leader will win a landslide victory. Eduardo dos Santos' organization will be the most penalized in the elections due to its ideological links with communist regimes which have destroyed Angola.

UNITA Urges Voter Turnout

MB2709055792 (Clandestine) *Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 27 Sep 92*

[Text] Mango Alicerces, the secretary general of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], today invited millions of legally registered Angolan people to turn out at the polling stations on 29 September.

In an exclusive address to the Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel, UNITA Secretary General Alicerces said voting on 29 and 30 September amounts to choosing a new route for the country. He also called on voters to abstain from consuming alcohol during those two days, thereby ensuring their vote is a conscious one.

He said elections will determine whether Angola is set to rebuild and grow, or mutilate itself. He added that that explains why it is important that people turn out at the polling stations. Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi is the candidate in the hearts of all Angolan people.

Airports, Borders To Close

MB2709143992 *Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 27 Sep 92*

[Text] The Angolan election days, 29 and 30 September, will be national holidays and the national airports and borders will be closed to international traffic to guarantee that the elections take place in an atmosphere of effective security and tranquility.

UN Helicopter Crashes in North

MB2709193692 *London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 27 Sep 92*

[Telephone Interview with Anita Coulson, BBC correspondent in Luanda, by Barnaby Philips on the "Focus on Africa" program on 27 September; first paragraph is studio introduction—recorded]

[Text] Well, with elections now only two days away in Angola, the atmosphere continues to be tense. Both parties have held their final showpiece rallies but violence continues and three people were wounded in a grenade attack at a government rally yesterday in Benguela Province, attended by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. On the line to Luanda, Barnaby Philips spoke to our correspondent Anita Coulson and asked her what the latest news was.

[Coulson] We have just heard that there was a helicopter crash in northern Angola yesterday. It was a United Nations helicopter with a four-man Russian crew and carrying 12 Angolans working for the National Election Committee. Apparently they were flying from Uige city to deliver ballot papers to one of the outlying areas and it is not quite known why the helicopter crashed, but there is only survivor, an Angolan, and he says that the engine stopped before the helicopter went down.

[Philips] So, there is probably nothing suspicious about it?

[Coulson] Well, there were unconfirmed reports out of Uige that it had been shot down, but nobody is prepared to say that this is the case. I have spoken to the United Nations' Angola Verification Mission spokesman, Mr. Gilberto Riso, and he said to me that it would be premature to speculate on the reasons of the crash. He said anything the survivor might have said would be unreliable in a sense, because he was suffering from shock and multiple fractures.

[Philips] Meanwhile, I understand, Anita, today was the day when the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] were meant to officially demobilize all their troops. Did that happen?

[Coulson] Well, not exactly. Today is the deadline for the extinction of the two armies. Now, it has proved impossible for them to demobilize all those people. So, what is actually happening is that the 40,000 or so troops who are still left at the assembly points will now become automatically members of the new Angolan Armed Forces which is the unified national army.

[Philips] What about the president, Dos Santos. He is only two days away from the voting. What has he been up to today?

[Coulson] Well, today, he is about to close his campaign with a speech at a football match. It is the Angolan FA [Football Association] Cup Final and he is there at the

Cidreira stadium and he hasn't spoken yet. So, we are not quite sure what he is going to say but we expect he will appeal for calm, which is what he has been doing over these past couple of days as he wound up his campaign.

Yesterday, he was in Benguela where he told people they needn't worry that there would be abrupt transition even if there was a change of government. He said that there would be at least two weeks before the new government would be formed, because it would take that long for the president to nominate a prime minister and the prime minister to choose people from all the different parties.

[Philips] And how are the main opposition, UNITA, rounding off their campaign?

[Coulson] Well, Mr. Savimbi today is in the Province of Huambo in the central highlands, the heartland of his Ovimbundo people who provide most support for UNITA and he is going to be, and may already have in fact, ended his campaign with a speech in Bailundo. Yesterday, it was Luanda's turn, the capital, and there was quite a reasonable turnout for Mr. Savimbi.

UNITA Tries To Remove Voting 'Kits'

MB2709051392 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 26 Sep 92

[Excerpt] In Huambo today, troops belonging to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] tried to invade [words indistinct] provincial elections headquarters in order to remove voting kits [preceding word in English]. They were prevented from doing so by the government authorities and the national police.

According to reports, UNITA is at all costs trying to occupy some government buildings. It is also intimidating citizens who are members or sympathizers of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. In Calenga, Communal Commissar Isave Mbewe was assaulted by UNITA elements who are also threatening to occupy the Catata commune in Caala District.

Meanwhile, UNITA soldiers and sympathizers tore pamphlets, flags, and cards belonging to the Democratic Renewal Party in Huambo last evening. This was revealed by PRD Provincial Secretary Jose Sousa da Costa. [passage omitted]

Comoros

Coup Bid Fails, Situation Said 'Calm,' 'Normal'

President Djohar Comments

LD2609145892 Paris Radio France International
in French 1230 GMT 26 Sep 92

[Excerpts] We still are reporting on Comoros with our guest, the Comoros president himself, Said Mohamed Djohar, who is currently on a private visit in France. The

Comoros president remains calm a few hours after the failed coup and despite the social crisis in the archipelago. He explains that this coup will change nothing in the current democratic process. Said Mohamed Djohar spoke to correspondent Gerome Bastion.

[Begin recording] [Djohar] We heard about this a few months ago. We thought that they were empty threats, but they have been confirmed today. So, they are the same people, who after their failure in the presidential elections, continue to seek the destabilization of the country for whatever reason. [passage omitted] The people know what democracy means and have concluded that they cannot accept that some people come and create trouble in their daily life. [passage omitted]

[Bastion] Will you go to Libreville [venue of forthcoming French-African summit]?

[Djohar] I don't want the outside world to get the impression that our country is on fire. There is no fire. Everything is calm at this moment. I have just received a phone call. The Armed Forces are in control of the situation. Everything is back to normal. We are assessing the situation to determine whether I have to leave. In that case, I will catch tomorrow's flight to at least mark my presence because I have missed four summits. I am very much interested in this French-African summit. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Sons of Former President in Coup Bid

AB2609151592 Paris AFP in English 1442 GMT
26 Sep 92

[Text] Pretoria, Sept 26 (AFP)—A coup attempt by the Comoros Armed Forces early Saturday did not come as a surprise to French ex-mercenary Bob Denard, who was the Comoros strongman until the end of 1989.

Denard, who has lived in South Africa for the past three years, told AFP he had "for some time" heard of plans for a coup to topple President Said Mohamed Djohar because of reported corruption there.

"For me the move of the Comoros Armed Forces did not come as a surprise. They have boys in there who were trained by us (mercenaries) and the French. They realized what was going on and moved," Denard said. "The Comoros people were aware of the situation and government scams and acted accordingly," he added.

Comoros President Said Mohamed Djohar said Saturday in Paris, where he is on visit, that armed forces had seized power briefly but government forces had dislodged them, saying: "The rebels failed in their lamentable enterprise."

[Dakar PANA in English at 1359 GMT on 26 September adds that, according to the Comoros ambassador to France, Sultan Choumour: "Two sons of former President Ahmed Abdallah, Lieutenant Aderamane and Cheikh Abdallah, who were charged with the task of protecting the radio station, had forcefully taken control

of the station. They have been arrested, while the third coup attempt maker was on the run." Paris AFP in English at 1319 GMT on 26 September also cites Ambassador Chouzour: "The ambassador named another coup leader as 'Captain Combo,' a former member of the presidential guard and an associate of Bob Denard, a French ex-mercenary who was the Comoros strongman until the end of 1989 and now lives in South Africa.]"

No Bloodshed, Moroni 'Calm'

AB2609154092 Paris AFP in English 1505 GMT
26 Sep 92

[Text] Paris, Sept 26 (AFP)—Comoros President Said Mohamed Djohar played down the coup attempt in his Indian Ocean island state Saturday, saying it involved only about 30 soldiers who were arrested without bloodshed.

Djohar said in an interview with AFP that a company of soldiers commanded by a son of former president Ahmed Abdallah had taken over control of the radio station in Moroni, the Comoros capital, to announce a military takeover.

"It backfired on them because no one joined them, no one moved," said Djohar, who was visiting Paris at the time of the attempted putsch.

The rebel soldiers were arrested after 1,000 men in the police force and Army were mobilized.

No one was wounded and there was not "a drop of blood shed," he said.

Djohar, 74, has been president since elections in March 1990 and served as interim leader after the assassination of Abdallah on November 26, 1989.

The president conceded that he had taken "unpopular" economic measures to satisfy the island's financiers, despite the approach of legislative elections in November.

He said he was in Paris to ask French authorities "if they could not help us." "We have unpaid back salaries," he said, adding that "dissatisfied, impatient people had taken advantage of the situation."

The president confirmed a statement by his ambassador here, Sultan Chouzour, that among the coup leaders was a "Captain Combo," a former member of the presidential guard and an associate of former French mercenary Bob Denard, who held effective power in the Comoros as head of the presidential guard under Abdallah until 1989.

Denard left under pressure from South Africa and France and now lives in South Africa.

Djohar said Captain Combo is still in contact with Denard, who masterminded an earlier coup in 1978 that restored Abdallah, though he did not implicate Denard

in the latest coup attempt—one of several since independence from France in 1975.

"I do not want to accuse him like that," Djohar said.

In Pretoria, Denard told AFP it was "the guys in the presidential guard who are behind" the coup. He insisted he had no plans to return to Moroni.

[Paris AFP in English at 1519 GMT in a Nairobi-dated report says: "Moroni was calm Saturday midday after soldiers failed in a bid to topple the government, according to a diplomatic source contacted by telephone from here.

"The situation in Moroni had been 'uncertain' for several hours, and the rebels 'could have thought they had succeeded,' the source added.

"The coup attempt on the Indian ocean islands, close to Madagascar, was launched at 3:00 am (midnight GMT) Saturday. Two sons of former president Ahmed Abdallah, who was assassinated in 1989, seized the national radio station, but were later reported to be under arrest with a third leader of the rebellion.

"According to the diplomatic source, order was reestablished at about 10:00 am 'with neither clashes nor violence' and the rebels were easily disarmed. The source said between 100 and 200 soldiers, all of them young officers, took part in the coup attempt.

"The rebels took control of several strategic cross-roads and blocked access to the presidential residence.

"During the coup attempt, a few young Comorians shouted slogans against President Said Mohamed Djohar, but there was no general reaction from the population, and no mobilisation of the political opposition, the source added.

"The source said it was certain the coup attempt was led by the assassinated president's sons, Lieutenants Abderamane and Cheikh Abdallah."

Malawi

Banda on Foreign Backers of Dissidents; Drought

MB2709171692 Blantyre Malawi Broadcasting
Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 27 Sep 92

[Text] His excellency the life president, Ngwazi [Paramount Chief] Dr. Kamuzu Banda, has said the people of this country owe it to posterity not to destroy the political stability and prosperity that has been achieved in the last 28 years of independence. The life president was speaking here in Lilongwe today when he opened this year's annual convention.

The life president told delegates that this country has made tremendous progress since independence because its people are united and have listened to his appeals for

hard work in the fields. He, however, expressed disappointment that there are dissidents who aim to destroy the country's nationhood. The ngwazi advised his people to be vigilant against confusionists who deliberately try to avoid channels of communication that the government has established. He said these few dissidents are meeting with foreigners at night where they discuss the destabilization of this country.

The life president urged his people to dismiss what the dissidents and their backers are saying both inside and outside the country. He said the dissidents have no sense of responsibility. Most of them are young with no credible record of achievement and some of them have criminal records.

In his remark, the life president told the delegates that the foreign groups which are sponsoring the dissidents are giving them skills only aimed at disturbing the country economically and politically and they are professionals who have caused disturbance elsewhere in Africa.

Concerning the withholding of development aid to Malawi, the life president appealed to donors who have withheld aid to this country to examine what has been done so far since the last meeting in Paris and urged them not to lose sight of the measures the Malawi Government has taken on human rights. He expressed concern that these foreign groups come from countries that have withheld aid to Malawi, thereby penalizing innocent people in the villages. At this point, the life president said he is happy that the people of this country have, irrespective of the pressure, resisted external forces both political and economical, and urged them to continue maintaining peace and calm, law and order.

Earlier, the life president, in commenting on the drought, thanked friendly government and donor organizations for their response to his appeal for assistance. He however said due to severity of the drought, the food and other requirements—such as water, salt, and oil—funds are still required to cover this shortfall, in addition to transport and storage facilities. In his speech, the life president made a further appeal to friendly organizations and governments to continue assisting the country in this hour of great need. The life president also thanked the local business community and individuals who have started responding to his appeal for donations and urged them to continue doing so.

The life president also elaborated on his instructions on youth leaguers to refrain from harassing people when renewing their party membership. He said his instructions did not mean that party leaders should stop appealing for party funds in the villages. He added that renewal of party membership should continue because, for the party to function, it must have sufficient funds but that this must be done through proper machinery, without harassing the people.

On relations with neighboring countries, the life president said he was happy that these continued to be good.

He said evidence that relations are good are numerous important visits to the country by some heads of state and government.

On Mozambique, the life president said he was encouraged with the peace process, following a direct meeting between President Joaquim Chissano and the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] leader, Mr. Afonso Dhlakama, in Rome this year, during which they agreed on a cease-fire to take effect on Thursday, this week.

Earlier, the acting chairman of this year's convention, the regional party secretary in the north, Honorable Mfunjo Mwakikunga, thanked the life president for breaking the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and developing this country to its present standard. Hon. Mwakikunga, who is also minister of information and tourism, observed that before the ngwazi came to Malawi, there were people who posed as leaders but failed. Hence, the people's request for the life president to come home and liberate his people. He said because of the leadership of this country, Malawi has developed and continues to do so tremendously, citing such examples as schools, hospitals, and good roads.

Hon. Mwakikunga also thanked the life president for establishing the Chitufuko Cha Amayi m' Malawi, CCAM [Development by Malawi Women] which, he said, is assisting the needy in the country. In his remarks, Hon. Mwakikunga said the Malawi Congress Party has been an instrument of development and said Malawi cannot accommodate multiparty politics because, he said, it brings chaos, tribalism, and civil wars. He assured the life president that the people of this country will continue to rally behind him, the party, and the government.

Earlier, Hon. Mwakikunga introduced delegates from sister parties from Mozambique, representing the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party; from Zimbabwe representing ZANU-PF [Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front]; and Mr. Alfred Nzo, representing the African National Congress, ANC, of South Africa.

Mozambique

Renamo, Frelimo Agree To Sign Agreement in Rome

LD2609230292 Lisbon RTP Internacional Television
in Portuguese 2000 GMT 26 Sep 92

[Text] The Mozambique peace agreement will be signed in Rome. The Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] and the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] reached agreement over the place but have not yet agreed on a date. Frelimo insists on 1 October, but Renamo says that is too early.

[Begin video recording] [President Joaquim Chissano] The Mozambican Government position is that if the

ceremony is not going to take place in Harare or Gaborone, then it should take place in Rome. Choosing Rome is logical. But, if there were a proposal, if we wanted it to happen in Maputo, then we could ask: Do you want it to take place in Maputo? And then, the response would be that the government will not accept that. [as heard]

[Unidentified correspondent] Dhlakama last night expressed doubts as to whether the agreement is going to be signed on 1 October, because there are still many technical issues that have to be resolved.

[Chissano] Dhlakama did not talk to me about any technical issues, the mediators did not tell me anything about any technical issues, and what everybody said is that the signing date is going to be 1 October. Therefore, the government does not have any other guidelines. [end recording]

Chissano Comments on Venue for Peace Accord Signing

MB2609190292 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 26 Sep 92

[Text] President of the Republic Joaquim Chissano said in Maputo today that the Mozambican Government feels that if the 1 October general peace accord cannot be signed in Harare, Zimbabwe, or Gaborone, Botswana, it will have to be signed in Rome. Speaking at the National Organization of Journalists [ONJ] during the distribution of ONJ membership cards, Chissano said that after the Gaborone meeting with the Mozambique National Resistance leader, there was a feeling that the accord would be signed in Gaborone.

Chissano said the Mozambican Government proposed Harare as the venue for the signing of the accord however because it thought it would be useful to reconcile the Mozambican people, as well as Renamo and Zimbabwe, considering that the latter is Mozambique's neighbor.

Meanwhile it has been confirmed that the definite venue for the signing of the Mozambican general peace accord will be Rome. This was revealed by journalist Tomas Vieira Mario from Rome. He said the parties involved in the negotiating process in Rome, namely the government, Renamo, and the mediators, are currently concluding preparations so that the accord will be signed on 1 October as agreed.

Chissano Addresses Special Parliament Session

MB2509112692 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1830 GMT 24 Sep 92

[“Excerpts” of speech by President Joaquim Chissano at the opening of the first special session of the Assembly of the Republic in Maputo on 22 September—recorded]

[Text] The various deadlocks observed during the Mozambican peace talks were mainly due to mistrust on both sides, particularly on the Mozambique National

Resistance's [Renamo] side. This mistrust resulted from the fear its leaders had that the government was not being sincere in its statements and could later take reprisals against them. Hence, Renamo mistrusted each and every stand adopted by the government. This mistrust vanished as time went on and today we can say that both the government and Renamo have a sincere desire to end the war. Accordingly, during the recent Gaborone meeting, we were able, without any hesitation, to set a definite date for the signing of a general peace accord.

As soon as we leave this hall today, we shall contact Renamo leader Mr. Afonso Dhlakama in order to continue with our consultations with a view to guaranteeing the smooth progress of the work being carried out by our delegations in Rome, particularly as relates to the most delicate issues.

Our delegations in Rome are currently drafting simultaneously the different pending protocols and we hope they will no longer face further difficulties. These protocols are the following: The protocol on guarantees which is almost concluded following the issuing of the 7 August Joint Declaration; the protocol on the cease-fire which, although the most important, appears to be the least controversial; the protocol on the donor conference which is also not controversial; and finally, the general peace accord.

The instructions that we shall send to Rome today and tomorrow will enable us to conclude the protocol on military issues. We encountered major differences in this protocol, but these were resolved during the Gaborone meeting. Contrary to what many people believe, we have not transferred talks from Rome to Africa. The Renamo leader and the president of the Republic of Mozambique have always been in contact with the negotiators in Rome. They have been sending instructions there and it was well known that any time, some differences would have to be decided at the highest level. As I pointed out above, our delegations in Rome continue to discuss all issues, all the points in the agenda and to draft protocols as they have been doing before.

Honorable deputies, ladies and gentlemen, the present special session of the Assembly of the Republic has the important task of examining and debating the process for the search for peace which have been going on in Rome for over two years. They will have to do this so that the undertakings between the government and Renamo can be enshrined in our country's legal framework, so that they can be carried out compulsorily by all citizens and all the state's institutions and organs. The cease-fire must be respected by each and every citizen. When we say that after the cease-fire we shall not persecute Renamo fighters and leaders, when we say that after the cease-fire we shall not prevent Renamo from carrying out its political activity, this is a decision that must be respected by all our people. The protocols must therefore be respected and this assembly will have to

guarantee their respect. All citizens and all the state's institutions and organs must compulsorily respect these undertakings.

The suffering of our people has already reached an intolerable level. We urgently need peace. The war must immediately end so that the life of the Mozambican people can return to normal and so that political changes and decisions are made democratically. Hence, there is a need for the present special session of the Assembly of the Republic to enshrine in our country's legal framework the protocols and accords signed in Rome. It is mainly for this reason that we convened this first special session of the Assembly of the Republic, under the terms of the Constitution.

The assembly will only be able to legislate on the protocols and accords, however, after the signing of the general peace accord. We convened this session for today because, before the Gaborone meeting between the president of the Republic of Mozambique and the Renamo leader, we thought we could still be able to conclude the work in Rome before 1 October. Thus, we thought it would be convenient for the Assembly of the Republic to meet while the general peace accord was being signed. In this way, we would be able to quickly submit to the assembly the accord, the protocols, and the 7 August Rome Joint Declaration. This procedure would have allowed the cease-fire to officially come into effect in the shortest time possible, considering that it can only come into effect after we have published the law that we shall approve here.

We are therefore grateful that the assembly has decided to examine other important issues, while we are awaiting for the signing of the general peace accord. The assembly will be examining the draft laws on the creation of labor courts and the repeal of the decree No. 29/75 of 23 October abolishing the operation of private land surveyors. It will also examine resolutions ratifying our country's membership in the Convention on Multilateral Investment Guarantees, as well as Mozambique's membership in the Convention and the International Center for the Resolution of Investment Disputes between states and nationals from member states; and other issues. We shall be examining these issues while we are waiting for the signing of the general peace accord.

Mr. Chairman of the Assembly of the Republic, honorable deputies, ladies and gentlemen, as is always the case, we hope the honorable deputies will devotedly and committedly debate the issues which made us convene this session. All our people are anticipating that our decisions will correspond to their aspirations, particularly as relates to the achievement of the peace that we so much desire. We are certain that this assembly will, as it has always done, carry out a constructive debate for the benefit of all the Mozambican people. We wish you all good work. It is our hope that you will adopt decisions that will best serve our people. We shall be here again on 2 or 3 October in order to present to you the general

peace accord. It is only then that we shall have the accord in our hands. It is only then that we shall ask you to legislate on it.

Your Excellency the Chairman of the Assembly of the Republic, honorable deputies, our country is experiencing a serious situation that we must resolve promptly. I am talking about the drought. Many Mozambicans are dying of hunger because of the drought.

During our meeting with the Renamo president in Gaborone, he asked for assistance. He said: Mr. President, please help us, because citizens are dying in areas under our control because food does not reach there. We are experiencing a severe drought.

I told Mr. Dhlakama: It is not only in areas under Renamo control where citizens are dying. Our citizens are dying in different corners of the country. Accordingly, the best way would be for Mr. Dhlakama to accept the UN plan, to agree to reopen at least 10 routes chosen by the United Nations to distribute food overland. It would be possible to distribute not only food but also medicine, clothes, soap, salt, and so on. Better still, would be for us to reopen all the routes and roads that we can use.

I explained to Mr. Dhlakama that the government had already accepted the UN proposal. As a matter of fact, the government agreed to the plan last April. What we did on 14 September was to formally accept the present UN plan. He said he would like to ask us to assist him to channel this assistance by air. He thought that provinces were not allowing planes to fly to Renamo areas. I told him I was not aware of that prohibition but if it is true, I would work to ensure that it is lifted. I therefore hereby give these orders to all the provinces not to hinder the flight of UN planes to any area. I would like to say more: It does not matter whether the food will be consumed by Renamo guerrillas. Let the planes fly to all the areas in the country. I am saying this although I know there is no such hindrance. What I know is that the United Nations and donors feel the distribution of food by air is very expensive and inefficient, because planes can carry very little and are expensive. Whatever the case, we have assumed our responsibility. If the United Nations or other donors feel that they should distribute food to Renamo areas by air, let them do so.

I asked the Renamo leader: Why then do you not want to open the roads? He said: Well, we are afraid. We are afraid that the Mozambique Armed Forces (FAM) would follow the food convoys with armored cars and attack our bases. I told him: All I know is that our armed forces cannot do this. They know that they must allow the United Nations to distribute food in peace, using the established routes. I also told him: If there are still difficulties, when I return to Mozambique, I shall give additional orders. The chief of the FAM General Staff is here. Please, stand up. The minister of interior is also

here. Please, stand up. Some of the provincial governments are represented here by their governors. I hereby publicly issue additional orders not to create obstacles.

We have no interest in taking advantage of humanitarian assistance to gain military advantage. It would be cowardice. What we have to do, and these are the instructions that we have to issue to our commanders when we leave this hall, we must cooperate as much as we can with the donors. We must cooperate with the United Nations as much as we can in order to save lives. It is the task of the Armed Forces and the police during periods of disaster to be at the vanguard of assistance to save lives. We have already done this when we experienced floods. Now we are dealing with the drought. When we experienced floods, the Armed Forces saved lives. Now we have the drought. The Armed Forces and the police have the duty to save lives. This time, we are not asking the Armed Forces and the police to distribute food. The United Nations and the Department for the Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters are there to distribute food. Government institutions will have to cooperate with the donors. Our role is to facilitate food distribution. Our duty is to help lessen the theft of food. We want this food to reach the needy. These are my orders. You may now sit down.

What is more, we would like to call on all our citizens to cooperate. The assembly members will be here even after 1 October, but will eventually return to their areas. The hunger situation will continue. I would therefore like to ask the honorable deputies who will return to their provinces to cooperate with all the institutions and the international community which is assisting us so that the food can be distributed efficiently and in an orderly manner.

Our meeting with Mr. Dhlakama in Gaborone demonstrates that Mozambicans can resolve their own problems. It is just a question of deciding. Let us then resolve our problems!

Namibia

Angolan Foreign Minister Fails To Arrive

MB2509201992 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1946 GMT 25 Sep 92

[Text] Windhoek Sept 25 SAPA—Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem failed to arrive at Windhoek international airport from South Africa on Friday night as scheduled.

Mr. van Dunem, who was in Pretoria to officially open an Angolan mission, was due in Namibia to convey a message from President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to President Sam Nujoma.

Namibian Foreign Affairs Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab and Angolan Ambassador Alberto Bento Ribeiro were among the dignitaries waiting on the tarmac to welcome Mr van Dunem, but he was not on the flight.

Swaziland

King Speaks on Change, Political Stability

MB2409123092 Mbabane THE SWAZI OBSERVER
in English 24 Sep 92 pp 1, 3

[By Albert Masango]

[Text] His Majesty, the King said yesterday that he will soon summon the nation to give a report on the findings of the Vusela [Greetings] II Commission which was tasked to gather people's views country-wide on the new political dispensation the Kingdom should pursue.

Officially opening the Africon conference at the Convention Centre, the King told delegates to the international indaba [conference] sponsored by the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers (IEEE), that Swaziland was concerned about international political and socio-economic developments which, he said, affected the thinking of the Swazi people.

The King said it was imperative that the country changed its economic infrastructure in order to meet global challenges.

He pointed out that socio-economic changes should be in line with the wishes of the Swazi people, adding that this however, must be done without disturbing the current political stability which was behind Swaziland's success.

The King told delegates that Africon '92 conference theme—which tackles the problem of establishing infrastructure services for developing people was of particular relevance to Swaziland, as a nation determined to develop in the right direction for the benefit of Swazi people.

His Majesty said that most of the discussions at the conference, described the problems faced by the Kingdom. He observed that finding solutions was central to the Kingdom's survival.

"We, therefore, take a very great interest in what benefit we can gain from your collective expertise and experience," His Majesty told the third gathering of the Africon fundis [experts].

"It is ironic, in this high-tech modern world of ours, with our increasing dependence on the luxuries of life, that it is the failure of a basic natural commodity, taken mostly for granted, which is causing the most immediate concern for all of us in this region," the King emphasised.

His Majesty noted that the crippling effects of the drought were being felt by all, regardless of economic status.

"While our priority is clearly to help the least advantaged of our people to survive the immediate crisis, we are determined to ensure that we will face any future disaster properly prepared," he stressed.

He noted that this meant raising the standard of the infrastructure support to the country, and in particular to the rural areas.

He challenged conference delegates to look into and put emphasis on the systems which were easy and cheap to operate and maintain to allow the person in the rural areas access to the advantages of readily available power sources.

He said Swaziland was becoming more concerned with providing students with more relevant programmes of study, to fit in with the requirements of an increasingly sophisticated work place. His Majesty then invited any one wishing to invest in Swaziland, saying that conditions were good and the Kingdom would welcome any investor who wanted to establish business in the country.

Zambia

Kaunda 'Formally' Retires From 'Active Politics'

MB2809053592 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 27 Sep 92

[Text] Former President Dr. Kenneth Kaunda today formally retired from active politics. Dr. Kaunda, who officially opened the Second Extraordinary UNIP [United National Independence Party] Congress on the outskirts of Lusaka, told the delegates that, as he leaves office, he had no doubt in his mind that UNIP shall rise from the ashes of defeat. He urged the delegates to remain united and supportive of one another as the party needs a new leadership, advising them to do away with politics of character assassination which, he said, should be left to the MMD [Movement for Multiparty Democracy]. He said he was disappointed to note that the MMD victory brought nothing new to Zambia.

Liberia

NPFL Forces Reportedly Massacres Civilians

AB2709184092 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 27 Sep 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Reports are reaching the Liberian capital, Monrovia, of a large-scale massacre of civilians in Bomi County. The area in which the killings are said to have happened is under the control of ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia], the rebel group fighting Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia, NPFL. From Monrovia, Klon Hine telexed this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] The massacre of civilians and prisoners of war reportedly amounting to 370 people was carried out by NPFL fighters on Friday [25 September] morning. A Mrs. Dudu Camara, who survived the massacre, told me today that nearly 400 civilians, mostly women trading in agricultural products who were fleeing an earlier NPFL attack in the Bopolu area, were stopped last Thursday evening at the Monrovia Kle junction by ULIMO forces. The ULIMO troops then warned them not to continue their journey to Monrovia because of the security situation. She said the ULIMO forces then provided lodging for the civilians for the night. Some of the people were said to be on their way to see their families for the first time in two years.

At about 0530 on Friday, she said, NPFL forces attacked the area. The battle raged on until 0800 when NPFL forces forced the ULIMO soldiers to retreat from the area. According to her, the NPFL troops then went from house to house and started killing civilians. She said that when the civilians informed the NPFL forces that they were coming to Monrovia to see their relatives, NPFL forces told them that they would be killed because they were supporters of ULIMO. She said that after they had killed several people, the NPFL forces set some of the houses ablaze.

Though I was denied access to ULIMO Secretary General Mr. Joseph Taybior, at his hotel this morning, I did, however, visit several homes where relatives confirmed the deaths of their loved ones in the massacre on Friday. One Rufus Watson told me: I lost my blind 70-year old mother who was being brought to Monrovia to be with me. My mother was old. I wanted to bury her when she dies, but now I cannot. [end recording]

Nigeria

Command, Staff College Air Force Plane Crashes

AB2709193092 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 1800 GMT 27 Sep 92

[Text] The Nigerian Air Force Hercules transport aircraft C-130, on Air Force mission, crashed yesterday shortly after takeoff from Lagos. The aircraft was conveying some students of the senior division of the Command and Staff College, Jaji, who were on study tour of naval installations in Lagos, and some Nigerian Air Force personnel back to Kaduna when the crash occurred. Details of the number of passengers on board and the possible cause of the crash are not yet determined.

The chief of defense staff and minister of defense, General Sanni Abacha, has ordered the setting up of a board of inquiry into the incident. Search and rescue efforts are still going on around the scene of the crash.

The chief of Defense Staff and minister of defense hereby expresses his deep sorrow and sympathy over this unfortunate and unprecedented occurrence.

[Paris AFP in English at 1856 GMT on 27 September reports: "All 160 senior Army, Navy, and Air Force officers and three crew aboard a Nigerian military transport plane are feared to have died when it crashed Saturday just north of Lagos, the Presidency in Abuja announced."]

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